

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

Demonstrators in Ireland
protest British domination

— PAGE 7

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 58/NO. 7 February 21, 1994

ANC rejects rightist call for apartheid 'ministate'

BY GREG ROSENBERG

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — The African National Congress (ANC) is pressing ahead in the fight for a nonracial democratic republic as the right-wing Freedom Alliance continues to stall in negotiations with the ANC and National Party government. The Alliance has until February 12 to decide whether or not to participate in the April 26-28 elections.

The Freedom Alliance includes the Inkatha Freedom Party, which speaks for the administration and privileged layers in the apartheid-created KwaZulu homeland; the white-supremacist Afrikaner People's Front, Afrikaner Resistance Movement, and Conservative Party; and Lucius Mangope, the military ruler of the Bophuthatswana homeland.

Inkatha, headed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, continues its threat to boycott the elections. On February 8, King Goodwill Zwelithini, a traditional leader of the Zulus who is aligned with Inkatha, demanded that the South African government cede an entire province of 8 million people to his rule. Most working people of Zulu background, however, are supporters of the fight for a democratic South Africa — not the Inkatha Freedom Party.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has stated that the democratic movement will not stand by idly while rightists organize violence to sabotage the elections. Eugene Terre Blanche, leader of the paramilitary Afrikaner Resistance Movement, has responded, "They can never, ever fight a war against the Boer nation. We destroyed them totally in the past and if they want war we will do that again." Right-wingers have carried out some 30 attacks against the ANC and its allies since December in the Orange Free State. Police arrested five men February 7 in connection with the attacks.

"They are going to live in South Africa like everybody else. They made a mistake by using force," Mandela said at a speech in Kroonstad February 4.

He told an audience of mainly white business executives in Welkom that "it is not only blacks who are going to die — blacks

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Militant/Greg Rosenberg

Miner pickets at Gold Fields of South Africa office in Johannesburg February 4

Clinton to slash social programs in new budget

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

President Bill Clinton's 1995 budget proposal, which was presented to Congress February 7, includes new attacks on the rights and living standards of working people. It calls for sharp cuts in more than 300 federal programs — including 115 to be killed outright — and reducing the federal workforce by 118,000 by September 1995.

Asserting that his plan is needed to "maintain budget discipline," Clinton is leading a bipartisan assault on a wide variety of social service programs.

"There has not been a budget like this in memory," states an editorial in the January 31 *Washington Post*, which claims that "the president, according to his budget director, will recommend cuts in inflation-adjusted terms in more than 500 programs."

The first budget to be prepared by a Democratic administration in 13 years, writes David Rosenbaum in a February 6 *New York Times* article, "varies only slightly from what a Republican President would have submitted."

Thirty-two programs run by the Department of Education are slated to be terminated. This will slash \$640 million from the budget. These include public library construction, a foreign language assistance program in the public schools, and bilingual vocational training. All totalled, the elimination of 115 federal programs is expected to cut \$3.25 billion from the budget.

The administration is recommending that a program that helps low income workers pay for home heating oil be reduced by 70 percent for a \$700 million cut. Operating subsidies for urban mass transit in cities with populations of more than 50,000 would be diminished by 25 percent.

Clinton is proposing that spending on public housing construction be cut by 74 percent. In addition, a program to provide apartments for the elderly is to be slashed by \$1 billion, a 66 percent reduction. Twenty

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Publishers from 33 countries participate in Cuba book fair

BY MARTIN KOPPEL

HAVANA, Cuba — The Sixth International Havana Book Fair opened here February 9. Thousands of people from this city and other parts of the island are expected to visit the week-long fair, which takes place every two years. The event reflects the profound thirst for literature on international politics and culture among working people, students, and others in Cuba today.

The Havana book fair is a major cul-

For additional coverage
on Cuba see pages 8-9

tural event. About 150 publishers from 33 countries have book exhibits here. They are mainly from Cuba and other Latin American countries such as Mexico and Argentina, but include publishers from Europe and Asia. A few from Japan and Germany are participating for the first time. Unlike previous years, there are none from Russia or other former Soviet bloc countries.

One of the participants is New York-based Pathfinder Press, which also took part in the 1988, 1990, and 1992 international book fairs in this city. Pathfinder has an exhibit of almost 200 titles. These include speeches and writings by revolutionary and working-class leaders such as Karl Marx, Frederick Engels, V.I. Lenin, Leon Trotsky, and Rosa Luxemburg, as well as Ernesto Che Guevara, Nelson Mandela, Fidel Castro, James P. Cannon, Thomas Sankara, and Malcolm X.

An international team of representatives from France, New Zealand, Iceland, Britain, Canada, and Sweden is staffing the Pathfinder exhibition.

The book fair will be the occasion for several book launches and literary awards. One well-publicized event is the launching of 100 previously unpublished titles by Cuban authors. A group in Argentina that promotes the defense of the Cuban revolution waged a successful fund-raising campaign, winning financial support from several writers and publishers, that made it possible to print these books in Buenos Aires.

SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL WEEKENDS

MIAMI • NEW YORK

World Capitalist Politics in the '90s

'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,' and
Global Instability

by JACK BARNES

Miami
Saturday, February 19
7:30 pm

New York
Sunday, March 6
Time and Location
to be announced

Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism

Report back from a recent visit

by MARY-ALICE WATERS

Miami
Saturday, February 19
2:30 p.m.

New York
Saturday, March 5
Time and Location
to be announced

Miami events are part of a weekend socialist educational conference that will include classes on the labor movement and the fight for women's rights. For more information see ad on page 12 or call (305) 756-1020.

For more information on New York events call (212) 388-9346 or (718) 399-7257.

U.S. gov't exposed Puerto Rico activist to radiation — page 13



Thousands strike in Indonesia

Thousands of workers in Indonesia went on strike the first week in February to protest the refusal by employers to pay the new minimum wage. The country's main independent trade union called a nationwide walkout for mid-February.

The government has ordered a 27 percent increase in the minimum wage for workers in the industrialized region of West Java, effective from January 1. Bosses in other parts of the country have been told to raise the minimum wage by April 1.

Clinton lifts Vietnam embargo

U.S. president Bill Clinton lifted Washington's 19-year embargo against Vietnam February 3. Some U.S. companies immediately responded to investment opportunities in this Southeast Asian country. Pepsi began distributing free cans of soda to passers-by in Ho Chi Minh City. Coca-Cola announced plans to spend \$45 million in Vietnam over the next five years. United Airlines will begin service to Ho Chi Minh City from Los Angeles under a route authority it purchased in 1986 but, because of the embargo, had not been able to use.

Record investment in China

The Chinese government reported a 135 percent increase in foreign investment from 1992 to 1993. Actual investment reached \$25.75 billion and the number of projects initiated by foreign-funded firms jumped 71 percent to 83,265. In addition, agreements for future investments increased by 91 percent. The foreign money pumped into China in 1993 alone equaled the total amount for the previous 14 years.

Open markets protested in Seoul

About 15,000 farmers and students demonstrated in Seoul, South Korea, February 1 to demand the government revoke or hold a referendum on its decision to open the country's rice markets to imports. Police attacked the demonstration on its way to the U.S. embassy, injuring 200 protesters.

Turkish planes bomb Kurds

More than 50 Turkish warplanes bombed a Kurdish rebel camp inside Iraq January 28, in the worst assault in 10 years. The Kurdistan Workers Party (PKK) is fighting for an independent state for the oppressed

Kurdish people of Turkey, Iran, Iraq, and Syria. PKK officials said the only casualties were four people in a nearby village.

To carry out the attack, the Turkish planes had to cross a "no fly" zone patrolled by U.S. warplanes that are supposedly protecting the Kurds.

Fishermen protest in France

Police attacked thousands of fishermen with tear gas and clubs in Rennes, France, February 4. The fishermen were protesting a visit by Premier Edouard Balladur. Protest leaders urged an end to their demonstrations after Balladur promised to act to protect France's fishing industry from foreign competition if the European Union did not quickly take steps to hike fish prices. However, they vowed to continue pressing for formal restrictions on fish imports.

London closes mines

British Coal, the government-run mining company, will close four more pits and cut its workforce to less than 10,000 by the end of April. This represents a 75 percent reduction from the 40,000 employed just 15 months ago and a fraction of the 200,000 miners employed a decade ago.

Washington expands drug tests

The U.S. Transportation Department said it will require transportation companies to test 25 percent of their workers for alcohol use. The new rules expand upon a 1991 law, which requires drug and alcohol tests for workers at airlines, railroads, trucking companies, transit systems, and gas-pipeline concerns. Union officials said the new regulations fail to protect workers from false test results and allow bosses to fire employ-



Auto workers marching in Bochum, Germany, February 3. Tens of thousands of IG Metall members stopped production for several days to demand wage increases and to protest benefit cuts. Thousands of students also held protest actions against the government's plan to freeze education grants until 1996.

ees whose blood-alcohol levels are below the government threshold. Industries that perform well in random tests could lower the percent of the workforce tested to 10 percent each year, while industries with poor results would have to test 50 percent.

Senate backs school prayer

The U.S. Senate voted 75-22 to deny federal funds to state or local agencies that bar student-initiated prayer. The measure says all Education Department money for a school would be withdrawn if that school "effectively prevented" a student from engaging in voluntary "constitutionally protected" prayer. The action was led by North Carolina senator Jesse Helms, who also introduced an amendment to bar the distribution of condoms in public schools.

U.S. immigration policy

U.S. attorney general Janet Reno is planning to announce steps to tighten immigration policy. Measures include hiring and deploying hundreds of additional Border Patrol agents, stepped up enforcement against employers who hire undocumented workers, and hiring more Immigration and Naturalization Service employees to cut the

time it takes to process political asylum requests and naturalization applications.

Rising labor costs

Labor costs in the United States rose by the smallest amount since the U.S. Labor Department began keeping records in 1981. Last year's Employment Cost Index, which measures changes in wages, salaries, and benefit costs, increased only 3.5 percent, matching the previous year's record low. Health care expenses rose by the smallest amount in six years.

Computer wiretaps

The Clinton administration plans to force federal agencies and urge private companies to use an encoding device in telephone and computer equipment that makes it easier for police to intercept coded messages. The device, called a "Clipper Chip," was designed in cooperation with the National Security Agency after law enforcement officials complained that new computer technology was making it difficult to carry out traditional forms of wiretapping. The government is relying on its huge purchasing power to make the chip a de facto standard for private industry.

Nationwide walkout in Ecuador

The United Workers Front organized a nationwide strike in Ecuador that began February 3 and has paralyzed transportation and business. Workers are protesting a 71 percent increase in gas prices. They are also seeking an increase in wages and dismissal of Finance Minister, César Robalino. Union officials reiterated the membership's opposition to privatization of state-owned industry. Police stepped up patrols of cities to try to weaken the strike and attacked demonstrators with tear gas. Schools were closed and 100 students involved in the protests were arrested.

Workers strike in Bolivia

Two hundred thousand industrial workers and teachers in Bolivia struck January 25. Unionists demanded a sustainable wage and protested the government's plans to privatize state-owned industry. The Bolivian government proposes opening nationalized enterprises to foreign investment by allowing private businesses to purchase up to 50 percent of most state corporations. Following the strike, the Bolivian Workers Federation, the country's main trade union, agreed to negotiate with the government. — PAT SMITH

THE MILITANT

Self-determination for Ireland

The Militant has ongoing coverage of the Irish struggle for self-determination. Don't miss a single issue!



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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

Economic, social tensions rise in Algeria

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Social and economic tensions are mounting in the North African country of Algeria.

"A slow-burning civil war is consuming Algeria," warns an article in the January 29 *Economist*, "as its army-run regime attempts to eradicate the Islamic movement that, two years ago, was on the way to forming an elected government. The attempt is failing, largely because the regime has nothing to offer in exchange; neither jobs nor housing nor security, nor even new faces."

The government is embroiled in an ongoing battle with supporters of the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS). This group decisively won the first round of voting in a December 1991 election. The following month the government annulled the outcome of the election and banned the organization.

Since January 1992 political violence has claimed more than 3,000 lives in Algeria. Killings by paramilitary death squads are on the rise. The capital city of Algiers and surrounding provinces remain under a government-imposed curfew. As part of its campaign against the military rulers, an organization calling itself the Armed Islamic Group issued a public ultimatum warning all foreigners to leave the country by December 1.

New round of austerity measures

In late January of this year, the Algerian government decided to implement a new round of austerity measures demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). These measures are certain to make the already dire economic situation facing workers and peasants in this country of 26 million even worse.

Currently one-quarter of the population is out of work. Living standards for the vast majority have been declining for the past five years as inflation rises by 30 percent annually. Shortages of food and housing are reaching crisis proportions. Some econo-



Textile worker in Algeria. Unemployment there currently stands at 25 percent. New IMF austerity program may increase the number without work by 2 million.

mists estimate that the new IMF program will increase the number of unemployed by a further 2 million.

"I can't get married because I have nowhere to live and no work," one young woman told the *Economist*.

Burdened by prices that have tripled in the past year, many people are forced to stand in lines outside shops for hours during the day to buy what little there is of bread, flour, cooking oil, and meat. Hundreds of factories are operating at less than 50 percent capacity because of lack of materials.

"If the food shortages and bread lines continue to grow, people will take to the

streets," commented *El-Haq* newspaper director Ali Rachedi to a *New York Times* reporter.

The Algerian government spent 83 percent of its 1993 export earnings just to cover interest payments on the country's \$26 billion foreign debt owed to banks in imperialist centers. This exacerbates the economic crisis in a country that imports at least 60 percent of its food. In 1994, payments on the debt will absorb all of Algeria's foreign income earnings, 97 percent of which comes from oil exports.

Tokyo, which is one of Algeria's biggest creditors, is strongly opposed to any steps to reschedule the debt payments. In late

January Algiers suspended payment on its medium and long-term debt.

In hopes of restoring some political credibility to the regime, the Algerian government organized a January 25-26 "National Consensus Conference." However, all of Algeria's major political parties boycotted the meeting, which was aimed at winning support for a new three-year interim government. Four days later the military leadership appointed Defense Minister Liamine Zeroual to the post of president.

Algeria, a former French colony, won independence in 1962 after an eight-year revolutionary struggle led by the National Liberation Front (FLN). The following year, under the leadership of Ahmed Ben Bella, a series of popular decrees were issued resulting in extensive nationalizations of European-owned industry. A workers and peasants government came to power, placing on the agenda a showdown with the capitalist forces backed by imperialism.

The Ben Bella government was overthrown in June 1965 through an army coup led by Col. Houari Boumedienne, also a member of the FLN. The new regime succeeded in consolidating capitalist political rule. In 1989, the military rulers abolished the state's monopoly on foreign trade and opened Algeria to foreign investment. Some 21 international oil companies have since undertaken oil and gas exploration projects in the country.

However, growing instability has capitalist investors and the imperialist ruling powers worried. Developments in Algeria, states an article in the January 25 *Washington Post*, will "have widespread repercussions for the Arab world, particularly, Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco. It also could affect countries including France, Italy and Spain, that are bound to this North African state by cultural and economic ties."

Imperialist gov'ts debate Bosnia policy following deadly shelling of Sarajevo

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

The February 5 mortar shell explosion in a crowded marketplace in Sarajevo has exacerbated the debate among the imperialist powers about whether to launch air strikes or other military action in Bosnia. The blast, which killed 68 people and wounded more than 200 others, was the worst massacre in the 22-month siege of Sarajevo by rightist Serb forces.

U.S. president Bill Clinton has played down the likelihood of immediate retaliation for the attack. He said that for Washington to back air strikes, it would have to be demonstrated beyond all doubt that Serb forces were responsible for the blast.

Newly appointed U.S. defense secretary

William Perry said that while all options are under review, if air strikes did not help bring about a negotiated settlement in Bosnia then "we ought to reject them categorically."

"The question is: What will the political effect be?" asked Perry. "If air strikes are Act One of a new melodrama, what is Act Two? What is Act Three? What is the conclusion?"

A February 7 meeting of foreign ministers from the European Union (EU) (formerly the European Community) called for "the immediate lifting of the siege of Sarajevo," but backed away from the French government's request for an ultimatum setting a deadline for the Serb forces to lift their encirclement of the Bosnian capital.

French and Belgian government officials say they want air power to be used to back up the EU's demand. German chancellor Helmut Kohl, who two weeks ago argued against the use of force in Bosnia, is now urging that air strikes be deployed. Paris had also previously opposed such a bombing campaign, but recently reversed its stance.

Ministers from Spain and Greece have expressed opposition to air strikes against Serb forces. London and Ottawa are also worried about the effects that such a bombing campaign will have on their troops on the ground, which are part of the 28,000-strong United Nations contingent in the former Yugoslavia.

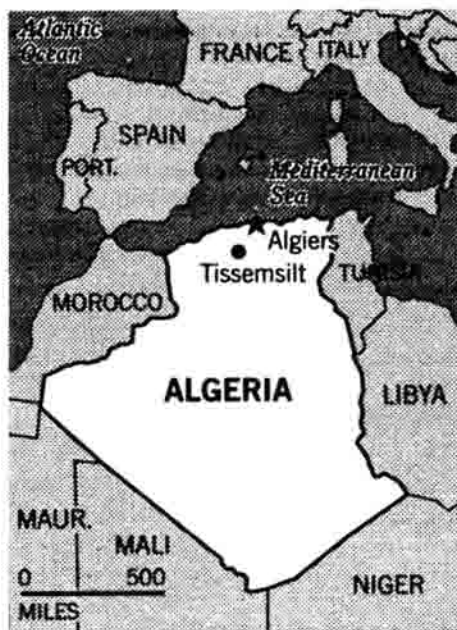
Meanwhile, Russian foreign minister Andrei Kozyrev has hinted at the possibility of Moscow blocking any further decisions in the UN Security Council to use air strikes. "We believe [the air strike proposal] is the least successful way" to resolve this problem, said Kozyrev.

While calling for stepped-up military action in Bosnia, French foreign minister Alain Juppé said that support and participation by Washington is essential for mounting an air strike campaign. "The European Union cannot act alone. That is not enough," he stated. The Clinton administration remains opposed to committing any U.S. ground troops to the

UN force in Bosnia.

UN secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali is now urging NATO to discuss using air power in Bosnia. The recent carnage in Sarajevo makes "it necessary to prepare urgently for the use of air strikes ... at the request of the UN," wrote Boutros-Ghali.

The North Atlantic Council, the highest political body of NATO, scheduled a meeting February 9 to discuss the question. Washington and Paris have put forward a proposal for Serb forces to remove their heavy artillery from the hills surrounding Sarajevo within a week or 10 days or face air strikes. In response, Serb military commanders said they would comply and agreed to place their weaponry around Sarajevo under UN monitoring. Any vote by the council for military action must be unanimous.



Clinton administration makes renewed threats to N. Korea

BY PAT SMITH

The White House and the United Nations may soon have to decide whether to use "a very big stick" and impose economic sanctions against North Korea, Washington's new defense secretary, William Perry, said at his confirmation hearing. He told the Senate Armed Services Committee that up until now the U.S. government has been offering only "carrots" in nuclear inspection talks with Pyongyang. "There are sticks downstream," he threatened.

The Clinton administration instigated a new provocation against the Korean people January 25 when it stated its intention to deploy Patriot missiles in the southern part of the peninsula. The Pentagon has also increased spy flights over North Korea.

North Korean officials called the threats "an unpardonable and grave military challenge." The real purpose of Washington's deployment of the missiles, a statement from North Korean authorities said, is "to impede the progress" of the talks and to "impose the unreasonable demand for nuclear inspection on the DPRK through pressure and threat."

The U.S. Senate approved two amendments February 2 that seek international sanctions against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and support a U.S. nuclear presence on the peninsula. On February 4, Madeline Albright, U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, met with envoys of the other members of the UN Security Council to urge them to approve sanctions against North Korea. The U.S. government already maintains 36,000 troops in South Korea, posing a threat to the North.

"We in the Socialist Workers Party are confident that Washington has misjudged the determination of the working people of Korea to defend the country's national sovereignty and advance the fight for reunification," Jack Barnes, SWP national secretary, wrote in a letter to the Workers' Party of Korea in response to these new threats. "Not only Koreans throughout the peninsula but millions elsewhere in Asia and the world are opposed to provocative actions by U.S. forces in Korea that could engulf your country in a devastating war," Barnes said.

FROM PATHFINDER

The Truth about Yugoslavia
Why working people should oppose intervention



George Fyson, Argiris Malapanis, and Jonathan Silberman \$8.95

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'Strength of ANC's own commitments to democracy become clear in these pages'

Major dailies review new Pathfinder title 'Nelson Mandela Speaks'

Since its publication by Pathfinder in November, *Nelson Mandela Speaks* has received wide comment in the news media. The book is a collection of speeches given by the president of the African National Congress (ANC) between his release from prison in February 1990 through 1993. It traces the accelerating development of the revolutionary democratic struggle that has begun to transform political, economic, and social conditions in South Africa. Below are excerpts from some of the reviews that have appeared.

"A valuable book, and not merely for the future historian.

"The strength of the ANC's own democratic commitments is made clear in these pages. So too, in the very sharpness of Mandela's responses, is the record of costly foot-dragging that has so often characterized South African President F.W. de Klerk's approach to negotiations. Many dilemmas — for example, the precise balance to be struck by the ANC between invoking mass action and advancing formal negotiations, tactics that are in part contradictory, in part complementary — are also explored. Moreover, the book is able to close with Mandela's acknowledgment of the setting of a 1994 election date as an important culmination of his efforts during the period since his release from prison. Throughout his tone is sober, forbearing, informative, his speeches consistently admirable in intent and eloquent in expression."

John S. Saul,
Globe and Mail (Toronto)

"The Pathfinder collection of speeches and statements by Nelson Mandela, covering three and a half years from the time of his release from Pollsmoor to a speech in Indianapolis in July 1993, charts the way in which, through constant discussion, [the] process of revolutionary change has come about.

"Quite obviously many compromises had to be made between parties representing diametrically opposed political views and different sections of the population. Who can feel happy about compromises? But there are also clearly reiterated principles that form a bottom line for Mandela and his associates . . .

"This collection of speeches helps us to understand how that compromise was reached, and to appreciate the courage, the devotion, the sacrifice and the optimism that



are exemplified by leaders like Oliver Tambo and Nelson Mandela, who for three decades from their respective exiles outside and inside the country brought the architects of apartheid to sit down and discuss how to demolish that system.

"If ever there are men of integrity, it is these South Africans."

Hilda Bernstein,
Southern African Review of Books

"This collection of Nelson Mandela's speeches covers the time from his release from prison in 1991 to the past summer. A

... clearly reiterated principles that form a bottom line . . .

man whose television delivery has captivated millions is as captivating on paper.

"What is remarkable about these speeches is how Mr. Mandela can cater to the conflicting interests of totally different audi-

ences — from U.S. Congress to a Fidel Castro rally in Cuba — without sounding insincere or unprincipled. The reason appears to be that while his emphases change, he refuses to deny certain basic facts or to apologize for them. . . .

"Nelson Mandela represents the thinking of a generation of ANC leaders whose numbers is rapidly dwindling. As it gets closer to assuming power, the ANC will experience an inevitable change in generational leadership. This is likely to result in many changes in its doctrine as well. The Mandela speeches offer a benchmark against which changes in the ANC can be measured."

Antero Pietila,
Baltimore Sun

"Unfortunately, this collection of speeches — ranging from Mr. Mandela's first remarks upon being released from prison in February 1990 through his speech to the national convention of the NAACP in Indianapolis in July — offers only one real insight into the man likely to become the first semi-freely elected leader of the South African state next April: In his public speeches, at least, he continues to offer nothing but the same tired clichés of the Leninist left he uttered three decades ago, before his imprisonment for treason. . . .

"Perhaps Mr. Mandela skipped class the day they were taught about the invasions of Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan, the imposition of martial law in Poland or the collapse of communism throughout the world except in China, North Korea, Cuba, and several dozen American universities."

Bill Pascoe,
Washington Times

"The consistent thread [in *Nelson Mandela Speaks*] is racial conciliation and creating a South Africa which, having provided an ugly lesson in racism for so long, now has the chance of showing the world how people of different colours can live together.

"That such a possibility exists is not always evident in these days of violent turbulence. But that Nelson Mandela could emerge from more than a quarter-century of political imprisonment to declare these views, and that he has succeeded in getting so many of his countrymen to go along with him, shows what might yet be achieved."

Benjamin Pogrund,
The Independent (London)

"[Mandela] has a new book just published by Pathfinder Press of New York. Its title is *Nelson Mandela Speaks*, and what makes it so special is that it is pure Mandela. . . .

"Mandela doesn't deliver 'just speeches.' His talks are documents, steeped in history and chockfull of facts. His speeches are the best reflection of Mandela, the teacher. . . .

"In all the book has the texts of more than 30 speeches, and each holds special significance.

"At 75 Mandela is still making history. In a little more than four months he'll be able to vote for the first time. And sometime soon he's likely to be elected chief of state of his native South Africa.

"In the world, he is among the giants. For courage, strength and determination he has no peer. But when you examine his speeches, you smile because you know this man is also one helluva teacher."

Earl Caldwell,
New York Daily News

"For readers yearning for more information about revolutionary changes taking place in South Africa, Nelson Mandela's own words can be rewarding. *Nelson Mandela Speaks* is Pathfinder's second illuminating volume of speeches by one of South Africa's most remarkable political leaders. . . .

"Readers come away with a deeper un-

... a testament to the political mobilization of the ANC. . . .

derstanding of the kind of nation he would build if he is victorious at the polls during South Africa's first-ever nonracial election, set for April 27. He seems ready to breathe new life into his country's sanctions-battered economy, and he speaks of devising a democracy in which economic benefits are shared by all rather than by a chosen few.

"These addresses help explain why Mandela commands so much respect across racial and ethnic lines both in South Africa and around the world."

Robert Joiner,
St. Louis Post-Dispatch

"Throughout the book there are tantalizing glimpses of Mandela's blueprint for action, which evolves from a philosophy of inclusion. He is successful in bringing diverse cross sections of people together to focus their collective energies to formulate strategies, plans and approaches that deal with the economy, housing, education and the infrastructure. He aspires to change the

Continued on Page 5

Publications review 'Mandela Speaks'

The following newspapers or magazines have published reviews or articles on *Nelson Mandela Speaks*.

The Globe and Mail (Toronto)
The Independent (London)
Southern African Review of Books
Washington Times
Baltimore Sun
New York Daily News
Booklist
St. Louis Post-Dispatch
Bay State Banner (Boston)
Eye (Toronto arts weekly)
Hilltop (Howard University, Washington, DC)
Asheville Citizen-Times (North Carolina)
An Phoblacht/Republican News (Ireland)
Excalibur (York University, Toronto)
South Africa Times (Britain)
Los Angeles Sentinel
Chicago Defender
Daily Cougar (University of Houston)
Morning Star (London)
African Times (London)
Milwaukee Sentinel
The Militant
The Post (Hawera, New Zealand)
Tri-State Defender (Memphis)
Vancouver Sun
Interchange (Transportation Communications Union)
Ebony

Haiti Progrès (New York)
Seattle Times
Christian Science Monitor
Publishers Weekly
Vindicator (Youngstown, Ohio)
Tri-State Defender (Memphis)
Carolina Peacemaker (Greensboro)
A & T Register (A&T University, Greensboro, North Carolina)
Dallas Post Tribune
Jackson Advocate (Mississippi)
Cincinnati Herald
Florida Photo News (West Palm Beach)
Grand Rapids Times
Wilmington Journal (North Carolina)
Sun-Reporter (San Francisco)
Roanoke Tribune (Virginia)
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Firestone Park News (Los Angeles)
Watts Star Review (Los Angeles)
Herald-Dispatch (Los Angeles)
Crusader (St. Louis)
San Francisco Metro Reporter
New Journal & Guide (Norfolk, Virginia)

Mandela heads freedom march at S. Africa jail

BY GREG ROSENBERG

PAARL, South Africa — "Never again will our people be imprisoned at Victor Verster, Pollsmoor, and Robben Island... never again will our children be herded into homelands where there is no food. Never again will our people die in prison and the police say they slipped on a bar of soap in the shower," said Allan Boesak February 2 outside the gates of Victor Verster prison here in the Western Cape province. Boesak is the African National Congress (ANC) candidate for the premiership of the province.

ANC president Nelson Mandela — who spent four of his 27 prison years in jail here — and an extraordinary group of hundreds of other former political prisoners and exiles, punished for their political activity by the apartheid white-minority regime, led a Freedom March and rally from the gates of Victor Verster to the Dal Josafat stadium in this town. Thousands of residents lined the streets to greet the motorcade and march. More than 10,000 packed the stadium to hear the ANC president's address.

The event took place on the fourth anniversary of Mandela's release from prison and the unbanning of the ANC.

"You see people here together today from all different races," said 19-year-old Ilse Fester, who came out to see Mandela. "I think a new ANC government will mean better opportunities for the majority," she continued. "We can make it work."

"I'm here because I was sent for 12 years to Robben Island for [membership in] Umkhonto we Sizwe," said Mayoyo Kama, who was imprisoned from 1964 to 1976. Umkhonto we Sizwe is the armed group attached to the ANC.

Frank Arendse, the mayor of nearby Franschhoek, marched "to celebrate the freedom of our people." Arendse, the first Black mayor in this country, was a prison guard at Victor Verster until 1986. Today he is a member of the ANC.

The apartheid regime locked up Murphy Morobe on Robben Island from 1979 to 1982 for the crime of organizing the June 16, 1976, demonstration by Soweto youth protesting the forced learning of Afrikaans for Black youth and Bantu education. "At one point," recalled Morobe, "there were more than 600 political prisoners at Robben Island alone, not to mention the others around the country."

Outside the prison gates, Mandela lit a torch that was carried by runners at the front of the procession. Along the march route, chants of "Never again," and "One president, one Mandela!" rang throughout the streets.

At the stadium, Mandela said that "you have no imagination of the cruelties committed behind prison walls." But while most white jailers treated prisoners like "animals," the ANC president said, there were some who treated inmates like human beings. This helped to reinforce the ANC's perspective of building a nonracial, democratic society.



Nelson Mandela and Allan Boesak (in white shirt) at Freedom March from Victor Verster prison

Workers occupy factory in Cape Town

BY GREG ROSENBERG

CAPE TOWN, South Africa — On the morning of February 4, as workers at the Carlton Paper plant began the third day of their occupation of the factory in a strike for wages and union rights, the South African Police (SAP) moved in with a "hippo" — the armored vehicle that has become synonymous worldwide for repression by the apartheid regime.

"We've got bare hands," said union member John Debruyne as he peered through the gates. "They are armed." The hundred or so workers gathered at the inside of the company gate began talking. The cops looked on menacingly. Not one striker moved from their position.

Despite the economic devastation brought on the working class by South African capitalism and the impact of the world depression — unemployment stands at

around 50 percent — these and other workers in South Africa are fighting to extend their rights. In 1993, there was a 14.3 percent drop in the number of workdays lost to strike action. Indications are this may be changing.

An article in the January 23 big-business Johannesburg *Sunday Times* warned of the likelihood of a new round of union militancy this year. Employer "labor specialist" Andrew Levy & Associates said that with some new union elections "some of the wisdom, maturity and finesse of the past have fallen by the wayside."

The working class, which has powered South Africa's democratic revolution, is gaining confidence as the African National Congress-led democratic movement makes headway leading up to the April elections.

About 1,600 workers are employed by Carlton Paper — a subsidiary of Kimberly Clark — at four plants in South Africa. The

Paper Printing Wood and Allied Workers Union (PPAWU) struck for a 12 percent wage increase. The bosses offered only 5 percent. "Carlton made 32 million rand profits last year," said one worker.

"Electricity is up, medical care is up, phone bills are up. It's time we got our share," Debruyne said. "I make 1,000 rand a month [about \$294]."

Carlton Paper stands in the midst of a vast industrial area in the flats of Cape Town. The flats include the townships where the apartheid rulers mandated so-called Coloureds and Africans must live. These areas stretch back from the mansion-lined coasts of Cape Town at the southern tip of Africa.

Nearly all the workers at the factory are those who were classified by the apartheid regime as Coloured. All the managers are white. Each night of the three-day occupation 40-50 workers slept in the plant, while others returned the next day with food and supplies. This is the first strike ever at Carlton Paper.

Handmade picket signs festoon the gates, reading "No industrial peace without higher increase," "Long live the spirit of no surrender," "An injury to one is an injury to all — millions to bosses, 5% to workers," and "Forward to a living wage — Amandla! [power]"

"Conditions in the plant are noisy, dusty, and hot," said shop steward Andrew Nortzie. He said that unionists were fighting against

Continued on Page 6

Major dailies review 'Mandela Speaks'

Continued from Page 4

balance of power not only in the economic sphere but in the social sphere as well.

"Some questions, however, remain unanswered. I, for one, am particularly concerned about what will happen to the millions of young people who have been an integral part of the movement to build a new South Africa. How will these young people who were active in the protests and the struggle learn to become active participants in the new society they are about to create? What plans are being made to deal with their concerns, and what resources are required to meet their needs?"

"I commend Pathfinder Press for their wisdom in publishing this book. It has much to offer those of us who wish to understand the thinking of Mandela. It prompts us to think about the role of leadership with a vision, and is particularly significant in answering the question: who should lead in the struggle to end oppression? Mandela's speeches have been edited well by Steve Clark and help the reader get a clear image of Mandela as he 'marches on to Pretoria.'"

"I was curious at the omission of the term 'nonsexist' in the title because it is one of the three phrases along with 'nonracial' and 'democratic' that Mandela uses to indicate the goal of the struggle."

Melvin H. King,
Bay State Banner (Dorchester, MA)

"Here is what the collection of speeches shows, a Mandela who's politically objective, whose stature is constantly being challenged. A Mandela under pressure, who continually refrains from the role of political messiah, instead remains intent on being a political motivator."

"Mandela Speaks provides a remarkable insight into his politics, it shows his drive is still intense even though now he is nearly

50 years a political activist.

"The international and domestic roles Mandela plays now show that for organized political activists engaged in what at many times seemed the most hopeless of struggles, there are in fact virtually no limits on what you can achieve."

"Mandela Speaks is a testament to the political mobilisation of the ANC and of Mandela himself in his own tireless struggle."

Neil Forde,
An Phoblacht/Republican News (Ireland)

"This book reads with the excitement of a novel. It's all here: the breadth, the history, the right-now delicate issues upon which millions of lives turn and a nation's future rests. *Mandela Speaks* is a powerful and necessary read for anyone who wants to get beyond the one dimensional sound bites that become South Africa on our evening news."

Monroe Gilmour,
Asheville Citizen-Times (North Carolina)

"Mandela's eyes are always set firmly on the prize and what it will take to win it."

"As he emphasised in his address to the nation following the assassination of Chris Hani, 'When we, as one people, act together decisively, with discipline and determination, nothing can stop us.'"

John Haylett,
Morning Star (London)

"This captivating book of Mandela's speeches reveals a warrior with the courage of a lion, who's gracefully aging and wise to the opposition's tricks and traps. His task would have been a hundredfold more difficult if he had not experienced the joy of meditation and prayer while in solitude."

"Mandela's determination to weave all the races of South Africa into a working

democracy is a challenge for a super nova human. At this writing Mandela is skillfully cornering his opposition. And moment by moment, brick by brick, a new South Africa is unfolding..."

"Nelson Mandela Speaks belongs in every household..."

Prizgar Gonzales,
Chicago Defender

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by Jack Barnes

The future belongs to the majority

Why Cuban volunteers are in Angola

edited by Fidel Castro

— 5 —

The Coming Revolution in South Africa

by Jack Barnes

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ANC rejects call for apartheid 'ministate'

Continued from front page

and whites are going to die — innocent people. It is your duty to stand up and persuade them to abandon this suicidal scheme."

Despite the escalating threats and talk of war, the ANC has successfully bound the right wing into negotiations, which are expected to continue.

No 'volkstaat'

In a February 4 interview with the *Militant* in Johannesburg (to be published in a forthcoming issue), ANC leader Baleka Kgositsile addressed the challenges faced by the democratic movement in the talks. Kgositsile was the secretary-general of the ANC Women's League until last December. She is a member of the ANC Negotiations Commission and one of its candidates for national parliament.

Kgositsile said "despite the ANC's negotiating flexibility and willingness to talk, there is no way" it will accede to the Alliance's demands for an apartheid mini-state. The ANC cannot accept this, she said, "precisely because we come from a past where our country was torn up into pieces, and there were all these artificial creations of bantustans according to tribes, in particular for the black majority."

It is ruled out, she said, that "we will allow a group of Afrikaners to go off and have

someplace that they call a Volkstaat. The issue immediately arises — where is this place going to be where you find only Afrikaners? There is no place like that. Afrikaners are spread throughout South Africa. And when you ask them, they do not explain these issues."

ANC launches political campaign

At the end of January, the ANC launched its political campaign in preparation for the elections. According to the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity, some 100,000 people turned out in the western Transvaal to hear Nelson Mandela speak January 30-31. Reuters reported February 7 that Mandela wound up a three-day tour of the Orange Free State at a rally of more than 30,000.

The elections are a product of the gains conquered by the democratic movement. For the first time in South Africa's history, all residents, regardless of their skin color, will be able to vote. They will elect a new 400-seat Assembly and 90-seat Senate. The Constituent Assembly will draft the new constitution of a nonracial democratic republic.

Within the assembly, a two-thirds majority will be needed to approve the draft of the new constitution. This places a premium on a decisive ANC victory.

On the campaign trail Mandela has stressed in forceful terms the need for the or-

ganization to take the program of the ANC — the Freedom Charter — and the election manifesto out to every residence in the country "twice and even thrice." He told delegates to the ANC Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy that unless this is done, "everything will have been in vain."

"We want to warn you that the danger to our cause is not the National Party," Mandela said to more than 10,000 people at a march of former prisoners and exiles February 2 in Paarl in the Western Cape province.

"The danger to the cause of democracy is you," he continued. "It is members of the African National Congress, members of the tripartite alliance, democrats. Our duty is to turn that 70 percent support that we have nationally and transform it onto the ballot paper. To make sure that on the date of the election every one of you is able to vote."

ANC more needed than ever

The goal of the campaign is to emerge in April with a stronger ANC, better positioned to speak and act in the interests of the oppressed and exploited majority in South Africa. "In the face of what lies ahead of us, the need for [the ANC] is even greater," Mandela emphasized at the ANC national conference. "We must, therefore, make certain that whatever else we do, we have the strength to continue to build such an organization."

President F.W. de Klerk's ruling National Party released its 35-page election manifesto February 2. The National Party is trying to take all the credit for the dismantling of apartheid that, in reality, was forced by the hand of the democratic movement.

De Klerk told a special National Party Congress that "The ANC would cast us back into the dark ages. It is secretly controlled by communists, militants, and extremists."

"The National Party," said Mandela at one campaign stop in the western Transvaal, "is dead." At a refinery in Sasolburg, the ANC president said that "The people are shunning the National Party like lepers, which they are... The NP is still a racist party... extinction is staring them in the face."

ANC National Executive Committee member Pallo Jordan responded to the National Party's red-baiting assertions in an opinion piece in the February 4-10 *Weekly Mail and Guardian*. "Whatever the motives of those who echo the Red-baiters might be, there can be no doubt that they bring grist to the mills of the guardians of the old order, who would much rather debate who is or is not a 'communist' than address the glaring injustices that are the real issue."

Struggle for land

According to new legislation, about 1.2 million farm workers now have the right to join trade unions and negotiate for better working conditions. A spokesperson for the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) told South Africa Broadcasting Corporation Television this was a product of a long struggle against the South African Agricultural Union and the government. The COSATU representative, Mike Madlala, said this would force white farmers and the government to extend the law on basic working conditions to agriculture. This development could also open the door to increased access on huge, capitalist farms for the ANC to campaign among farm workers who live and work there.

In a related development, the National Land Committee, an umbrella group for nine organizations, announced plans for a mass rally of rural and landless Blacks to regain land seized under white minority rule. The group said more than 3.5 million Blacks — 10 percent of the population — have been driven from the land since 1960 alone.

"The rural people need their demands to be met," Abie Dithake from the Farmworkers Research and Resource Project said. "First and foremost they need their land back. This is not negotiable."

Workers occupy factory in Cape Town

Continued from Page 5

management's imposition of 12-hour shifts and racist treatment of workers.

Joan Titus explained that two-thirds of the 300 employed here are women. "I've worked here for seven years," she said, "and I'm still a packer. All the men are in higher positions. We are fighting to get equal wages for women too — and stopping discrimination against women."

Equal wages for women

Titus said she hoped "that when there is a new government we can have equal rights and bigger job opportunities."

Later that day, the SAP called in members of the notorious Internal Stability Unit (ISU) to back company demands and injunctions that workers vacate the plant. "There were some PPAWU workers from other plants outside the gates who came to support us. They were removed by the police and locked up," said Gabriela Rajap, a worker volunteering at the union office.

"After that, Carlton called in more security units armed with tear gas guns and blocked off the strikers. They gave us 10 minutes to leave the premises before they attacked. Since we've been on strike we have attacked no one," she continued.

Workers on the spot made a decision to vacate the premises as an alternative to jail.

According to a union spokesperson, workers went back to the gates for demonstrations February 7-8. The ISU showed up again, arresting 60 workers for violating a court injunction that prohibited workers gathering within one kilometer of the gates. After everyone remaining on the job — including administrative staff — downed their tools in protest, management gave verbal



Strikers occupied Carlton Paper plant in Cape Town February 4 demanding pay raise. The same day gold miners launched campaign to force company to honor union rights.

promises it would not press charges.

The strike continues at all four plants across South Africa.

In related developments, outside the giant offices of Gold Fields of South Africa (GFSa) in Johannesburg, the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) launched a campaign February 4 to force the employer to honor basic union rights. More than 1,000 miners participated in the picket line over the course of 24 hours.

Gold miners protest conditions

GFSa owns some of the richest mines in the country and employs some 60,000 miners, according to Kgalema Motlanthe, acting general secretary of the NUM.

One miner on the line said that GFSa should "blast the face, not us." Eleven workers died January 10 in GFSa's Leeudoom mine. On January 24, another five miners were killed in a fire at the West Driefontein mine.

Miners voiced demands for rapid moves to improve safety, increased union involvement in control over conditions underground, provision of meeting places for union members, and an end to racist practices by GFSa managers.

"Last year a black worker was painted white by managers because he used a carriage reserved for whites," said Motlanthe. He indicated that an ANC-led government of national unity will be "a huge moral boost for the NUM."

To send a message of solidarity to the striking paperworkers, write PPAWU, P.O. Box 418, Salt River, 7925, South Africa. Fax (021) 47-5398

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South Africa — The *Militant* is featuring firsthand reports on the African National Congress election campaign. *Militant* staff writer Greg Rosenberg, along with Brian Pugh from Salt Lake City and Brock Satter from Minneapolis, have just returned from a three-week reporting trip.

Ireland — Beginning in this issue, we are carrying coverage by *Militant* reporters Pete Clifford, Julie Crawford, Jim Gordon, and Tony Hunt, who recently traveled from



Youth rally outside Victor Verster prison in South Africa to commemorate unbanning of ANC.

Britain to Ireland to participate in a demonstration against British domination of the island. They will be writing about the reactions of workers, young people, and political activists to the "peace" negotiations on Northern Ireland.

The cost of these trips exceeds \$20,000. As we go to press, readers have contributed \$2,261. The *Militant* depends on these generous contributions from workers, students, and others who value the coverage they can find nowhere else to make such reporting possible.

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Corrections

In *Militant* issue no. 5, two photographs are misidentified. The press conference pictured on the front page announced the national candidates list of the African National Congress (ANC), and was held during the ANC's National Conference on Reconstruction and Strategy. The photograph on page four is of a January 20 People's Forum at the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

In issue no. 6, the date of Nelson Mandela's speech at the SABC People's Forum is listed incorrectly as January 21. The meeting took place on January 20. The error also appears in an accompanying photo caption.

Protesters in Ireland demonstrate against British domination

BY PETE CLIFFORD

DERRY, Northern Ireland — Thousands joined a march here January 30 protesting injustice under British domination. The demonstration took place while London and Dublin move to reorganize how Northern Ireland is ruled as signaled in their December 15 declaration. A central goal of the agreement is to force the nationalist party Sinn Fein to the bargaining table on terms favorable to the British and Irish governments.

The "Bloody Sunday" march is held every year to mark the day 22 years ago when British army troops shot dead 13 unarmed demonstrators. Fourteen marchers were seriously wounded and one subsequently died. Seven of those killed were under the age of 19.

The 1972 march was called by the Civil Rights Association to protest internment without trial of opponents of British rule and London's system of institutionalized discrimination against Catholics. More than 20,000 joined the demonstration, in spite of it being declared illegal. No member of the British army or government — which ordered the use of force that day — has been charged for the brutal attack on the demonstrators. In fact, the army commanding officer, Lt. Colonel Wilford, was subsequently honored by the Queen.

As this year's march wound its way toward Derry center through the Brandywell and Bogside areas, hundreds of people lined the streets and came out of their homes to join in. By the time it reached the spot where the protesters were shot in 1972, march organizers estimate more than 5,000 people had joined the demonstration. The overwhelming majority came from the local area, but buses came from most towns in Northern Ireland as well as parts of the Irish Republic. The march organizers also reported there were participants from Britain, Sweden, the United States, France, and Germany.

The Royal Ulster Constabulary (RUC) maintained a constant presence. As the march approached the Bogside area some 20 RUC officers with automatic weapons came out of their landrovers. At another point, RUC members filmed the marchers. The British army mounted armed road blocks stopping vehicles as they arrived at the demonstration but did not have an open presence on the march route.

The rally was opened by Cecil Hutcheon. Hutcheon is a leader of the Rosemount Anti-Watchtower Committee, an organization of residents near the vast RUC fort and observa-

tion post that looks over the Bogside area. Residents — who are fearful of RUC harassment in the area, as well as bomb attacks in response from the Irish Republican Army (IRA) — are demanding it be closed down. "We have a right today to live in housing without being spied on and without being assaulted," Hutcheon told the demonstrators.

"Some people say Bloody Sunday is just history and should be forgotten," said John Kelly, whose brother Michael was killed on Bloody Sunday. "But the British government doesn't say they will hunt the murderers of my brother until the day they die, as they do when they refer to Irish people who kill their soldiers." Kelly called for those who were murdered to have their names cleared. "We want the British government to admit their innocence. We want those who planned and carried out this murder brought to justice."

"I don't remember what it's like to live in a community that wasn't militarized, always facing gun battles, raids, helicopters over head, intimidation, and tension," Margaret Caraher said. Caraher, whose husband Fergal was killed by Royal Marines in 1990, was born in 1970. At least one-third of those who marched were her age or younger. Some students from Creggan told the *Militant* that they had heard about Bloody Sunday from their parents. They came to march, they said, because they wanted the soldiers off the street. Caraher told the demonstration that the soldiers who killed her husband had been cleared of murder December 23 after the recent signing of the London/Dublin declaration. "There was no jury and the one judge was appointed by the British," she said. "They've a cheek to call that a legal system."

Tom Hartley, Sinn Fein national chairperson, was the last speaker. He told the demonstrators that the demand for clarification



January 30 demonstration in Derry, Northern Ireland.

Militant/Julie Crawford

of the London/Dublin declaration by Sinn Fein is not a propaganda device by Republicans. "We who've born the brunt of the conflict, buried our dead, tell those who want to listen — we want peace, permanent peace, built on justice, equality, and democratic rights, which includes our right to national self-determination."

"Unionists must be persuaded that their real strength lies not in threats or vetoes but in their place as a substantial minority on the is-

land of Ireland," he said. "We believe that by ending the constitutional guarantee and the veto, Britain can at long last break the political logjam in Ireland by instituting a new realism in which dialogue becomes desirable and in which the Unionists can join in building a new and agreed future for this island."

A smaller demonstration of more than 1,000 was held in London the previous day. Neither demonstration was reported in newspapers in Britain.

Sinn Fein leader speaks in New York

BY MARTIN DUNNE

NEW YORK — Sinn Fein leader Gerry Adams spent January 31–February 2 here discussing his view of the struggle in Northern Ireland. U.S. president Bill Clinton granted Adams a visa after first barring him from the country in May and again in November. Adams's requests for a U.S. visa have been rejected eight times over the past 20 years. The terms of the 48-hour visa forbade Adams from travelling more than 25 miles from New York City and engaging in any kind of fundraising.

The U.S. State Department, Attorney General Janet Reno, the CIA, and the British Government all opposed giving Adams a visa. However, a strong campaign has also been waged to allow him into the country. Senators Edward Kennedy and Daniel Moynihan, as well as 38 other members of Congress, urged the U.S. government to grant the visa. This disagreement between wings of the U.S. and British ruling classes reflects tactical differences over how to best maintain imperialist control in Northern Ireland.

Washington hopes Adams will play a role in advancing the rulers' interests in negotiations currently under way between Dublin and London. While carried out under the banner of a "peace process," the talks — and the December 15 declaration by the British and Irish governments that they engendered — are aimed at achieving a more stable constitutional arrangement for maintaining domination over the working class in Ireland.

Sinn Fein, a legal political party in Ireland that opposes the British occupation of Northern Ireland and supports the military campaign of the Irish Republican Army (IRA), has been barred from the talks unless it "renounces violence." London and Dublin are anxious to involve Sinn Fein, but on their terms. "It is our sense that Adams is trying to move the IRA in the direction of peace," a senior White House official said, explaining the decision to allow the Irish activist into the country.

Adams was interviewed in Belfast January 28 by U.S. officials who report him as saying that "his personal and political priority is to see an end to the IRA and to see an

end to all other organizations involved in armed actions."

Three days later, upon his arrival in New York, the Sinn Fein leader was greeted by a large crowd of enthusiastic supporters and journalists. Following a press conference at the airport, Adams came into the city where he gave several interviews, including one on CNN's "Larry King Live." Viewers of the show in Europe, the Middle East, and Africa, however, were not allowed to view the interview until the next day. A voice-over replaced Adams's voice, since the television network had agreed to abide by the British government's censorship of Sinn Fein.

While in New York, Adams addressed a meeting sponsored by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. Adams took up many issues in his address to the conference including the British occupation of Northern Ireland, the right of the Irish people as a whole to self-determination, the democratic rights of both the Nationalist and Unionist populations, and his opposition to the proposal that Unionists in Northern Ireland be given effective veto power over any decision to unify the country. "To accept the veto means accepting that there can be no

progress," he said.

Adams demanded that the British and Irish governments clarify sections of their joint declaration, while making it clear that both he and Sinn Fein were committed to finding a peaceful resolution to the situation in Northern Ireland.

That evening, at a meeting which was built by word of mouth in 24 hours, 1,200 people turned out to hear Adams at his only public appearance of the trip, reflecting the widespread sentiment in support of Irish self-determination both in Ireland and in the United States. He was introduced — to a standing ovation — by Irish activist Paul O'Dwyer. "We are moving in to the final phase of the conflict," Adams said. "I come here with a message of peace. We're going to have peace not in 40 or 50 years time but in our time."

In the aftermath of the visit Clinton rescinded his campaign promise to appoint an envoy to Northern Ireland, saying that he is satisfied with the initiatives of the British and Irish governments. U.S. diplomats are already working to bring supporters of British rule of Northern Ireland to the United States to explain their positions.

Communist League sends greetings to Bloody Sunday rally

Today's demonstration is a timely reminder that the driving force of violence comes out of the British army's occupation of Northern Ireland. London's claim that it supports peace and human life falls hollow given their failure to overturn the whitewash of the Widgery Tribunal on Bloody Sunday and prosecute those responsible for the murders.

Their hypocrisy rings true for working people in many other parts of the world who, over recent years, have faced the guns of the British army and their allies — especially the U.S. government — from the slaughter in the Gulf War to the phony United Nations "peace" operation in Somalia.

For workers in Britain, defense of the Irish fight for self-determination is essential to chart an alternative in the interests of working people to the divide-and-rule policies of Britain's ruling families and to build a society based on human solidarity not profit. Today we can draw strength from the mobilisation of millions in South Africa as well as the determination of the Cuban people to defend their socialist revolution. They are showing that by placing confidence in the strength of working people we can achieve justice.

For Further Reading

IRELAND AND THE IRISH QUESTION

BY KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

For workers in Britain, Marx and Engels explain, "the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social emancipation." Articles, letters, and documents on Ireland by the founding leaders of the modern working-class movement. Progress Publishers. 665 pp. \$19.95

MARX ENGELS

Ireland and the Irish Question

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Second Declaration of Havana put socialist revolution on agenda throughout Americas

We are printing below excerpts from the *Second Declaration of Havana*. This document was ratified by a rally of 1 million people in Havana, Cuba, in February 1962—three years after Cuban toilers overthrew the U.S.-backed tyranny of Fulgencio Batista, established a workers and peasants government, and opened the socialist revolution in the Americas.

It is available, along with the First Declaration of Havana, in the Pathfinder pamphlet titled *The Second Declaration of Havana*. Copyright © Pathfinder Press, reprinted by permission. Footnotes are by the *Militant*.

In 1895, [Cuban independence fighter

José] Martí already pointed out the danger hovering over America and called imperialism by its name: imperialism. He pointed out to the people of Latin America that more than anyone, they had a stake in seeing to it that Cuba did not succumb to the greed of the Yankee, scornful of the peoples of Latin America. . . .

But Cuba arose. Cuba was able to redeem itself from the bastard guardianship. Cuba broke the chains which tied its fortunes to those of the imperial oppressor, redeemed its riches, reclaimed its culture, and unfurled its banner of Free Territory and People of America.

Now the United States will never again be able to use Cuba's strength against America, but conversely, dominating the majority

of the other Latin-American states, the United States is attempting to use the strength of America against Cuba.

What is the history of Cuba but the history of Latin America? And what is the history of Latin America but the history of Asia, Africa and Oceania? And what is the history of all these peoples but the history of the most pitiless and cruel exploitation by imperialism throughout the world?

At the end of the last and the beginning of the present century a handful of economically developed nations had finished partitioning the world among themselves, subjecting to its economic and political domination two-thirds of humanity, which was thus forced to work for the ruling classes of the economically advanced capitalist countries. . . .

When the bourgeoisie took political power and established upon the ruins of feudal society its capitalist mode of production, on this mode of production it erected its state, its laws, its ideas and institutions. Those institutions sanctified in the first instance the essence of its class rule: private property.

The new society based on the private ownership of the means of production and free competition was thus divided into two basic classes: One the owner of the means of production, ever more modern and efficient; the other, deprived of all wealth, possessing only its labor power, of necessity sold in the market as another piece of merchandise simply in order to live. . . .

Where did the colossal quantity of resources come from which permitted a handful of monopolists to accumulate billions of dollars? Simply from the exploitation of human labor. Millions of men, forced to work for a wage of bare subsistence, produced with their strength the gigantic capital of the monopolies. The workers amassed the fortunes of the privileged classes, ever richer, ever more powerful. Through the banking institutions these classes were able to make use not only of their own money but that of all society. Thus was brought about the fusion of the banks with great industry and finance capital was born. What should they do with the great surplus of capital which was accumulating in ever greater quantities? Invade the world with it. Always in pursuit of profit, they began to seize the natural resources of all the economically weak countries and to exploit the human labor of their inhabitants with much more wretched wages than what they were forced to pay to the workers of their own developed countries. Thus began the territorial and economic division of the world. By 1914, eight or 10 imperialist countries had subjugated territories beyond their own borders covering more than 83,700,000 square kilometers, with a population of 970,000,000 inhabitants. They had simply divided up the world.

But as the world, limited in size, was divided to the last corner of the earth, a clash ensued among the different monopolist nations and struggles arose from new divisions, originating in the disproportionate distribu-

Interest in communist literature high at Havana Latin American conference

BY MICHEL PRAIRIE

HAVANA, Cuba — More than 150 books and pamphlets published by Pathfinder Press in Spanish, English, and French, as well as copies of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*, were sold at a January 25-28 conference here. Some 1,100 delegates attended the Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Solidarity, Sovereignty, Self-Determination, and the Life of Our Peoples.

In addition, delegates purchased 10 subscriptions to the Spanish-language magazine *Perspectiva Mundial*, and one to the *Militant*.

Participants at the meeting — representing political parties, trade unions, as well as peasant, student, Native, women's rights, antiracist, cultural, and environmental groups and organizations — came from virtually every country in Latin America, several countries in the Caribbean, the United States, and Canada. They discussed the accelerating economic and social crisis of capitalism across the continent and the resistance by working people to it.

Staffed by delegates from the United States and Canada, a table of Pathfinder books and a display of enlarged book covers provoked interest among conference participants, several of whom didn't know Pathfinder before coming to the event. Based in New York, Pathfinder publishes the writings and speeches of revolutionary fighters and communist leaders of the modern working-class movement.

Most of the time, the table was a beehive of political discussion. A debate erupted between delegates from Peru and members of the Communist Party — Marxist-Leninist from Ecuador, who were reacting to Pathfinder's recently published pamphlet *Shining Path, Evolution of a Stalinist Sect* by Martin Koppel. "Shining Path is [Peruvian president Alberto] Fujimori's best ally," explained a woman delegate from Peru.

Two articles written almost 150 years ago by the founders of the modern communist movement, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, and reprinted in recent issues of *Perspectiva Mundial* led to a series of in-depth discussions concerning what stand the working class should take on the conflicts and debates among capitalists over free-trade and protectionism.

The recent North American Free Trade Agreement between the governments of Canada, the United States, and Mexico has generated great interest in this question. Many of those who bought subscriptions to *Perspectiva Mundial* did so in order to receive more such material.

The most eagerly looked for titles were *La revolucion traicionada* [the Spanish-language edition of *The Revolution Betrayed*] by Leon Trotsky, a leader of the 1917 Russian revolution (17 copies were sold); the first two issues of the Spanish-language magazine *Nueva Internacional* that feature the articles "The Opening Guns of World War III" and "Che Guevara, Cuba and the Road to Socialism" (11 copies of each were purchased); and

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Pathfinder literature table at Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference

U.S., Canada activists build caravan to Cuba

BY NAOMI CRAINE

"I've been trying to figure ways to oppose U.S. foreign policy and I agree with the principles of the Cuban revolution," said Angela Marino, a student at Evergreen College in Olympia, Washington, explaining why she signed up as a driver for the third U.S.-Cuba Friendship caravan. A total of six people from Olympia will be taking part in the caravan.

The convoy, organized to oppose the U.S. government's embargo of Cuba, will travel through dozens of cities in the United States, and several in Canada, February 22-March 6.

Along the way, participants will hold meetings and press conferences to speak out against the embargo and collect material aid for Cuba. After converging in Laredo, Texas, March 6, the caravan will cross the border and proceed to Tampico, Mexico, where the aid will be shipped to Cuba. Solidarity activists in Mexico plan to participate in this stage of the caravan.

The second Friendship caravan delivered more than 100 tons of humanitarian aid to Cuba last August, and involved some 300 drivers.

Activists are now stepping up preparations and outreach across North America for the project.

Participation from Canada

Friendship caravan participants from Washington state will be joined by 14 drivers from British Columbia, Canada. An international rally is in the works for February 20, when the Canadian participants plan to cross the border into the United States with aid they have collected. "Getting as many people as possible to the border rally will be important in getting the caravan across," explained

Irene MacInnes, a driver from Vancouver, British Columbia.

Border-crossing events are also planned at the points where delegations from Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, and Saskatoon will join up with the caravan.

Friendship supporters in New Jersey have been working to draw more young people into the project. Students at five university campuses in northern and central New Jersey have hosted six presentations and video showings on last year's caravan so far. The Latin American Student Council at Rutgers University in New Brunswick, New Jersey, is collecting material aid at its Cultural Center. Students plan to pass out caravan leaflets at local supermarkets. A send-off rally for the caravan will be held February 25 at the Rutgers Newark Law School campus.

Caravan supporters in the San Francisco Bay Area hosted an Educational and Organizing Conference on Cuba January 29 at Laney College in Oakland, California. The featured guests at the conference were Alfonso Fraga, head of the Cuban Interests section in Washington, D.C.; Bernardo Toscano, third secretary of the Cuban Interests Section; and Tom Hansen, director of Pastors for Peace, which is organizing the Friendship caravan.

Fraga described the impact of the U.S. government's trade ban on the Cuban people. He noted that eight successive U.S. presidents have maintained the economic, commercial, and financial embargo against the Caribbean country. The diplomat also explained the steps the Cuban government and people are taking to stand up to the economic crisis that was precipitated by the collapse of trade with the former Soviet

Union and Eastern European countries.

Among the 165 conference participants were students from the Cuba Educational Project at the University of California in Santa Cruz and several members of a new socialist youth organization at De Anza College.

Public meetings give boost to caravan

Recent public meetings have given a boost to building the caravan in Chicago. Nearly 150 people took part in a January 29 meeting sponsored by the Chicago Cuba Coalition. DePaul University professor José López and Antonio Maceo Brigade leader Andrés Gómez spoke there. Four days later Gómez and University of Havana professor Alberto Prieto addressed about 80 students at the University of Illinois in Chicago on "Cuba in Crisis."

More material aid for the caravan is starting to arrive at drop-off sites around Chicago, which include several churches and local bookstores.

A public meeting to build the caravan in Brooklyn, New York, drew more than 50 people January 28.

A February 5 party hosted by the Miami-Cuba Friendship Committee raised several hundred dollars for the caravan, and a press conference and rally are in the works for February 16. "So far we have 16 people who are applying to be drivers," said Tony Llano, an activist in the Miami group. "We've collected a lot of material aid, including 10 wheelchairs, 100 sets of crutches, powdered milk, canned food, soap, and more."

For more information on the Friendship caravan contact Pastors for Peace at 331 17th Avenue SE, Minneapolis, MN 55414. Tel (612) 378-0062.

tion of industrial and economic power which the various monopolistic nations had attained in their uneven development. Imperialist wars broke out which would cost humanity 50 million dead, tens of millions wounded and the destruction of incalculable material and cultural wealth. Even before this had happened Karl Marx wrote that "capital comes into the world dripping from head to foot from every pore with blood and mire."

The capitalist system of production, once it had given all of which it was capable, became an abysmal obstacle to the progress of humanity. But the bourgeoisie from its origins carried within itself its contradiction. In its womb gigantic productive instruments were developed, but with time a new and vigorous social force developed: the proletariat, destined to change the old and worn-out social system of capitalism to a superior socio-economic form in accordance with the historic possibilities of human society, converting into social property those gigantic means of production which the people, and no one else but the people, by their work had created and amassed. . . .

Cuba and Latin America are part of the world. Our problems form part of the problems engendered by the general crisis of imperialism and the struggle of the subjugated peoples; the clash between the world that is being born and the world that is dying. The odious and brutal campaign unleashed against our nation expresses the desperate as well as futile effort which the



Cuban president Fidel Castro addressing sugarcane workers in the province of Pinar del Rio, February 1960.

imperialists are making to prevent the liberation of the peoples. Cuba hurts the imperialists in a special way. What is it that is hidden behind the Yankees' hate of the Cuban revolution? What is it that rationally explains the conspiracy, uniting for the same aggressive purpose the most powerful and rich imperialist power in the contemporary world and the oligarchies of an entire continent, which together are supposed to represent a population of 350 million human beings, against a small country of only seven million inhabitants, econom-

Continued on Page 14

Congressmen join campaign to get visas for Cuban youth

BY DOUG JENNESS

MINNEAPOLIS, Minnesota — The national campaign to urge the U.S. State Department to grant visas to two Cuban youth to visit the United States received a boost when two U.S. congressmen from Minnesota sent letters pressing for the visas to be approved.

Representative Martin Sabo from Minnesota's 5th district, which includes Minneapolis, wrote to the State Department. "I wish to lend my support to organizers at the University of Minnesota who wish to sponsor the visit of two Cuban researchers as part of a national lecture series in the United States. . . . It is important for the free exchange of political views that our country allows such visits."

The youth, Arleen Rodríguez Derivet and Pavel Díaz Hernández, have been invited to visit the United States for a series of lectures at universities in February and March by more than 50 professors and student groups at 31 campuses in 23 cities.

Rep. Collin Peterson, from Minnesota's 7th district, located north of the Twin Cities, wrote in a letter to Dennis Hays, Director of the Office of Cuban Affairs at the State Department, "Rodríguez and Díaz have been invited by professors and students to exchange ideas, values, and opinions with young people in this country. This is a wonderful opportunity for others to hear the views of those from a country with a different political and economic system."

The U.S. Interests Section in Havana initially turned down the visa requests by the two Cuban youth in January. "The denial of the visas," Peterson wrote, "on the grounds that Rodríguez and Díaz had failed to demonstrate 'strong economic, family, or social ties, or any other strong ties that would force the applicant to return after a temporary visit to the United States' is patently specious. Rodríguez is editor of Cuba's second largest weekly newspaper and a

member of her country's National Assembly. Díaz has comparable ties to Cuba.

"I understand, however," Peterson continued, "that the State Department is reconsidering this action and has invited Rodríguez and Díaz to resubmit their applications. I urge you to recommend the approval of their visas and see that the process is handled expeditiously." The two Cuban youth resubmitted their applications January 25.

Similar messages sent to Hays so far include letters from Prof. John Cotman, Howard University, Washington, D.C.; Dr. Joseph Farry, Dean of the College, Saint John's University in Collegeville, Minnesota; and Maryann Mahaffey, president of Detroit's city council.

On February 7, Rodríguez and Díaz were interviewed by an official of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana. Although the visit of the Cuban youth is scheduled to begin February 15, the U.S. official said they will not get an answer to their visa requests before February 21.

The Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee at the University of Minnesota in Minneapolis, which is coordinating the visit by Rodríguez and Díaz, is urging an immediate all-out effort to get dozens of additional messages from professors and other academics, politicians, clergy, student leaders, journalists, and other prominent figures urging the State Department to expedite the visas.

Messages urging the visas be granted should be sent to: Dennis Hays, Director of the Office of Cuban Affairs, U.S. Department of State, 2200 C Street NW, RA-CCA, Room 3250, Washington, D.C. 20520. Fax: (202) 736-4475.

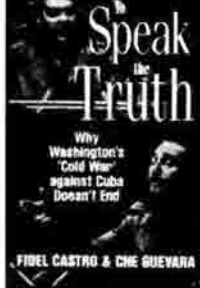
Please send copies to the Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee, c/o Professor Guillermo Rojas, 102 Scott Hall, 72 Pleasant Ave. SE, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis, MN. 55455. Tel: (612) 624-6005; Fax: (612) 624-3858.

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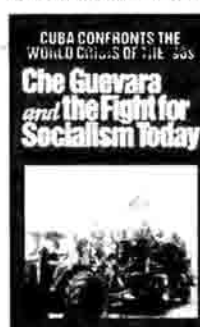
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'Marx, Engels on United States' shows class character of fight against racism

BY MAGGIE TROWE

Marx and Engels on the United States, a collection of writings by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, founders of the communist movement, is one of the books featured by Pathfinder for Black History Month 1994. The writings in this collection span from the 1840s, when the two young fighters participated in the revolutionary movement in Europe, to 1895, the year Engels died. Marx and Engels were partisans of the fight to end slavery in the United States. Much of their writings address that struggle, making this collection a fitting choice for Black History Month.

While most historians date the outbreak

IN REVIEW

of the Civil War to 1861 when the states in the southern United States, controlled by the capitalist slave-holding oligarchy of cotton plantation owners, seceded. Marx, however, dated the beginning of the war to the 1854 struggle of prairie farmers to make Kansas a slavery-free territory.

In "The North American Civil War," which appeared in *Die Presse*, Austria's largest daily newspaper, Marx describes how in that year "armed emissaries of the slave holders, border rabble from Missouri and Arkansas, with bowie-knife in one hand and revolver in the other, fell upon Kansas and sought by the most unheard-of atrocities to dislodge its settlers from the Territory colonized by them. These raids were supported by the central government in Washington. Hence a tremendous reaction."

"Throughout the North," Marx wrote, "but particularly in the North-west, a relief organization was formed to support Kansas with men, arms and money. Out of this relief organization arose the *Republican Party* . . ."

The cultivation of cotton by slave labor continually exhausted the soil, and the slave-holding cotton oligarchs consequently were compelled to seek new territory to provide fertile land. Thus the slaveocracy demanded that the frontier territories become slave states.

The slavery system clashed head-on not only with the class interests of the Black laborers held in bondage by the system. It also collided with the interests of the classes rising with the advance of industrial capitalism—the bourgeoisie in the Northern cities; the industrial working class, still in its infancy and largely without

unions; and the free farmers (and would-be farmers) who sought homesteads in the western territories. The farmers were the social base of the radical movement for the abolition of slavery and the most dynamic and resolute force against capitalist slavery. The abortive 1859 attempt by John Brown to initiate a slave revolt in Harpers' Ferry, West Virginia, is the most famous example of this movement.

Slave labor not only degraded the slaves themselves, but held back the advance of the organization and class consciousness of the young working class. "In the United States of North America, every independent movement of the workers was paralyzed so long as slavery disfigured a part of the Republic," Marx wrote in the chapter of *Capital* entitled "The Working Day." "Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the Black it is branded," he said.

For the first few years after the secession by the states of the so-called Confederacy, Marx explained, the Northern bourgeoisie conducted the war as a constitutional conflict to preserve the Union, not as a revolutionary war. The Lincoln government made concessions to the slave-holders in border states that had not seceded. Even during this period when the Union army fountered, however, Marx was confident that the U.S.

“Labour cannot emancipate itself in the white skin where in the Black it is branded . . .”

government would eventually be forced to take revolutionary measures to defeat the South. He wrote to a worried Engels in August 1862, "The North will finally make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods and throw over the domination of the border slave statesmen. A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves."

Because the slave states could not survive with limited territory, it was an all-or-nothing war for both sides. While the Civil War was a bourgeois democratic revolution, the last one carried out by the U.S. capitalists, the actions of the bourgeois regime of President Abraham Lincoln were characterized by compromise, irresoluteness, and corruption. Military leaders like George McClellan, the head of the Union army and the army



Members of the 107th U.S. Colored Troops. Marx anticipated that the U.S. government would be forced to allow Blacks into the army. "A single Negro regiment would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves," he wrote.

of the Potomac until he was replaced by Ulysses S. Grant, favored compromise with the slave owners.

Marx anticipated that Lincoln would be forced to take revolutionary actions like the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863, which freed the slaves and allowed them to serve in the army and navy; the Homestead Act of 1862, which promised free plots of frontier land to settlers; and the act authorizing confiscation of the slave owners' land. These measures responded to the pressure from the farmers and workers and helped draw them more deeply into the effort to press the war to a victorious end.

Support for the fight against slavery was strong in the working class in Britain. This was particularly the case among textile workers, who took the moral high ground in calling on Britain to cut off cotton trade with the Southern states even though that meant many of the mills where they worked would close. Mass meetings were held in several cities in England in December 1862 in solidarity with the Northern states' struggle against slavery and against the British government's support for the Confederacy. "The *Times* and its like are utterly furious over the workers' meetings in Manchester, Sheffield and London," Marx wrote to Engels in January, 1863. "It is very good that the Yankees have their eyes opened up in this way. By the way, Opdyke (Mayor of New York and political economist) has already said at a meeting in New York: 'We know that the English working classes are with us, and that the governing classes of England are against us.'"

The International Working Men's Association, the First International, of which Marx was a founding member, was launched in London in 1864 out of the momentum of working-class solidarity with the fight against slavery and the democratic struggle in Poland against Russian tsarist rule. The International sent a solidarity message to Lincoln as one of its first acts.

The defeat of the slaveocracy gave new energy to the U.S. labor movement.

"Out of the death of slavery a new life at once arose," Marx wrote. "The first fruit of the Civil War was the eight hours' agitation, that ran with the seven-leagued boots of the locomotive from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California."

"The General Congress of Labour at Baltimore (August 16th, 1866) declared: 'The first and great necessity of the present, to free the labour of this country from capitalist slavery, is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working-day in all States of the American Union . . .'" The movement for the eight-hour day became an international fight.

Marx and Engels supported Radical Reconstruction—the fight for political power by Blacks and other toilers in the former slave states, which were occupied by Federal troops after the Civil War, and the demands of the former slaves for full demo-

cratic rights and for land and the wherewithal to till it—"40 acres and a mule," as the popular slogan put it.

In 1877 the Republicans and Democrats gave the go-ahead to the new administration of President Rutherford Hayes to withdraw the troops from the South and began a bloody assault on the gains of Blacks. That same year, railroad workers carried out a militant nation-wide strike against pay cuts, and farmers protested the gifts of huge tracts of arable land by the government to the rail and mining bosses.

Taking stock of these developments, Marx posed the need for a class alliance of workers, farmers, and the newly liberated Black toilers.

"What do you think of the workers in the United States?" Marx wrote to Engels. "This first eruption against the oligarchy of associated capital which has arisen since the Civil War will of course be put down, but it could quite well form the starting point for the establishment of a serious labour party in the United States. There are moreover two favourable circumstances. The policy of the new President will turn the Negroes into allies of the workers, and the large expropriations of land (especially fertile land) in favour of railway, mining, etc. companies will convert the peasants of the West, who are already very disenchanted, into allies of the workers. Thus a fine mess is in the offing over there."

The "fine mess,"—the development of a multinational working-class movement that forged links with the struggles of working farmers—turned out not to be on the immediate agenda. The strength of a rising U.S. capitalism, which emerged as an imperialist power in the late 1870s, and the

“The first necessity is the passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day . . .”

very limited development of any class-conscious leadership in the working class blocked the road to this revolutionary alliance.

Building such an alliance, however, remains the key to advancing toward a socialist revolution in the United States today, in a situation where the formerly largely rural oppressed Black nationality has become in the big majority urban and proletarian.

For those who want to understand the fight against slavery in terms of the struggle between labor and capital, this readable collection of writings by Marx and Engels is one of the best ways to begin. It will whet the reader's appetite to venture further into reading *Capital* and related volumes of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*, also available from Pathfinder.

Marx and Engels on the United States

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on the
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Meetings in Britain win new support for Curtis defense effort

Mark Curtis, a union and political activist from Iowa, was arrested in 1988, beaten by the police, and framed up on rape and burglary charges. After an unfair trial, he was sentenced to 25 years in prison. He is currently at the John Bennett Correctional Center in Fort Madison, Iowa.

Curtis meets all requirements for parole. He has served out the rape sentence, has an excellent work and personal conduct record in prison, job offers upon release, and widespread community support. He has been declared mentally fit by a prison psychiatrist. Supporters of the framed-up unionist have launched a campaign to demand that Curtis be granted a parole hearing and released. Letters requesting a hearing for Curtis can be sent to the Iowa State Board of Parole, Capitol Annex, 523 East 12th St., Des Moines, IA 50319. Copies should be sent to the Mark Curtis Defense Committee, P.O. Box 1048, Des Moines, IA 50311.

BY PETE KENNEDY

MANCHESTER, England — Two events here in January gave supporters of Mark Curtis opportunities to win new backing for the framed unionist, and gave local frame-up victims and others a chance to discuss why such attacks on democratic rights take place today.

A showing of the video *The Frame-Up of Mark Curtis* was hosted by the campaign group Innocent at its regular meeting in the Ancoats district of Manchester. Later the same week the Militant Labor Forum hosted a program.

Innocent, which was formed last year by frame-up victims, their families, and friends, fights to expose miscarriages of justice and support those imprisoned. "We were wondering who this Mark Curtis was, but now we know he's just like us," group members Gerry McCarthy and Mike da Silva said.

"McCarthy served nine years in jail for conspiracy to rob after being setup by Manchester cops.

"I subpoenaed the cops for my trial," McCarthy said. "They were never made to appear." McCarthy, who is Irish, described how the cops had dug up his garden and the floorboards of his house on the pretext of searching for weapons or connecting him with the Irish Republican movement. He was rearrested recently on new

trumped-up charges.

Ian Walker, who, like Curtis, had worked in the meatpacking industry, discussed how Curtis's frame-up was connected to the bosses' offensive against working people. He noted the conditions in the Des Moines, Iowa, packinghouse where Curtis was working at the time of the frame-up. "It's just like Thatcherism in Britain," he said. His son Duncan is presently jailed for conspiracy on the grounds that he was seen in a pub with others who were convicted of robbery. Innocent members have bought eight copies of the pamphlet "The Stakes In The Worldwide Political Campaign To Defend Mark Curtis" by John Gaige.

At the Militant Labor Forum, McCarthy and Da Silva joined Julie Hart, representing Innocent; Toby May, the son of Susan May, who is now serving a 15-year sentence for murder; and Hugh Robertson a supporter of the Mark Curtis defense campaign. Da Silva, who is Black, spent seven years in



Mark Curtis at John Bennett Correctional Facility in Ft. Madison, Iowa, last April.

prison on a frame-up robbery charge.

Like McCarthy, he has refused to end his fight for justice or let the matter drop. He reported the difficulties he had attempting to secure the services of a Black barrister noted for his defense of frame-up victims. He also explained how the British government's move to introduce new laws removing a suspect's right to silence affected his case. Even before the law's formal introduc-

tion the jury in his case had been advised to interpret silence as guilt.

Robertson said that working people need to work to involve the trade unions in the fight against political frame-ups. Hart said that while members of Innocent were determined to fight and depend upon their own strengths, she couldn't see "that the Labour Party or the unions have been on the side of working people since 1945."

Congress curbs earthquake relief for undocumented workers in California

BY HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES — Congress dealt a blow to democratic and human rights when it voted to curb disaster aid for undocumented immigrant victims of the earthquake here.

The measure, an amendment to an earthquake relief bill, was approved by the House February 3 by a vote of 337 to 54. Senate action on the legislation was to follow.

The bill excludes undocumented immigrants left homeless by the quake from receiving federal rent subsidies granted for an 18-month period. Undocumented homeowners are denied access to low-cost federal home repair loans. Similar loans to small businesspeople will be barred.

"This is the beginning of changing government policy on how we spend our social dollars," said Rep. Ron Packard, who introduced the amendment. It was, he said, "a huge, huge victory."

The chair of the Congressional Hispanic Caucus, Rep. José Serrano, said, "This issue

speaks to meanness, it speaks to immigrant bashing... it says that everyone who looks different is going to be questioned over and over again."

The measure is intended to intimidate immigrant quake victims from seeking even the minimal emergency aid to which — so far — they are entitled.

In the San Fernando valley, the area hardest hit by the trembler, curbing aid to immigrants is no small matter. Latinos, many here without papers, are one-third of the valley's population. But they comprise 58 percent of those seeking shelter after the quake.

An estimated 85 percent earn less than \$20,000 a year.

"I don't think we knew how many truly poor people live in the San Fernando valley because it was not possible to see it before-hand," federal housing secretary Henry Cisneros said. "There were tripled-up families living in dilapidated apartment buildings, in garages behind buildings. Those garages

came down and all of a sudden these people had no place to go."

Federal officials here also instituted policies to make it more difficult for people to get food stamps. Initially, emergency food stamps were issued as soon as a quake victim applied. Now there is a three-day wait while applications are checked out. Applicants are notified by mail if they qualify.

Queried on how those left homeless will receive the mailed notices, a staff worker at the Federal Emergency Management Agency said, "They'll have to find alternate ways of receiving it."

Officials and the media justify the change with claims of massive fraud by those obtaining stamps. This, however, has proven to be a hoax. In one week, officials say, just 15 people have been arrested for buying or selling stamps on the street.

According to a front-page headline in the *Los Angeles Times*, county quake aid workers are also being probed for fraud.

Clinton to slash social programs in budget

Continued from front page

percent less is projected to be spent on HOME grants to state and local governments for construction, rehabilitation, and rental assistance.

Some administration officials attempt to justify such drastic cuts in funding for public housing by pointing to plans to increase

spending by \$427 million on programs for the homeless.

Other projects facing the budget ax include Rural Electrification Administration loan subsidies, public broadcasting, and 70 percent less for the Next Generation Weather Radar project, which would provide earlier warnings of tornados and hurricanes. Funds

for health services on Indian reservations would be reduced by \$247 million.

"We had to cut spending on yesterday's outmoded programs so we can bring down the deficit," stated Clinton, who characterized many of these projects as "hav[ing] been trapped in a time warp, frozen in bygone days."

The operations and maintenance budget for the Pentagon will increase by 2 percent under Clinton's proposals. Military spending will rise \$2.8 billion to a total of \$264 billion for fiscal 1995, which begins October 1. The White House projects spending \$1.2 trillion on the military over the next five years.

Nearly 2 percent, or \$28 billion, of the \$1.5 trillion federal budget is for top secret military and spy agency projects.

One huge expenditure that the administration will certainly not attempt to reduce are interest payments on the national debt. In 1995 this expenditure, which fills the coffers of the wealthy bondholders, amounts to \$212 billion, 15 percent of the entire budget.

While cutting various social programs, the administration is seeking \$22 billion as part of its crime legislation package, which will place 100,000 additional cops on the streets, build new high-security prisons, and further restrict the democratic rights of working people.

The proposed budget includes \$2.3 billion for prison operating funds. About \$589 million is allocated for prison construction. According to Attorney General Janet Reno, this will provide an additional 9,700 new prison beds.

Reporter's notebook

BY KEVIN JONES

LOS ANGELES — While the earthquake damage in my apartment was being repaired, I made time to talk with some of the people who were left a lot worse off.

I talked with a young woman who is Black at a Red Cross disaster aid center in Northridge. She had been waiting nearly seven hours and was just about to get her number called to apply for food stamps. She does computer work at home and her husband is a city sanitation worker. Their house was badly damaged, she said, and they have no earthquake insurance.

I asked her how she felt the emergency relief was being handled. "Not very well," she replied.

I also dropped by Dodger stadium, now one of the main places food stamps are distributed. The lines seemed to be moving fairly smoothly, except it takes longer for those who speak Spanish, who must wait for translation.

Later, I talked with a woman from Mexico who is doing volunteer work for the Red Cross. She didn't like all the immigrant-bashing. These attacks, she said, have the effect of keeping undocumented workers from applying for the emergency help they need. They are fearful of being arrested or deported. She was also critical of the fact that the people who do apply are not told about the different kinds of aid they might be eligible for.

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CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Malcolm X: The Evolution of a Revolutionary. Speakers: Ajamu Ajani, president, Black Student Association at Santa Monica College, member of All African People's Revolutionary Party; Ollie Bivens, member of United Auto Workers Local 148. Excerpt will be shown from PBS special "Malcolm X: Make It Plain." Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2546-C W. Pico Blvd. Donation: \$4. Tel: (213) 380-9460.

San Francisco

The Political Legacy of Malcolm X. Sat., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 3284 23rd St. Donation \$3. Tel: (415) 282-6255.

MICHIGAN

Detroit

Celebrate the New Pathfinder Release: Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. Speakers: Ernest Goodman, civil libertarian who was part of Mandela's legal defense team at the Rivonia trial in 1963 and 1964; Nathan Head, United Auto Workers (UAW) international representative, Civil Rights Department; Mike Leslie, Michigan Coalition for Human Rights, United Auto Workers Local 735, visited South Africa in 1993; Greg Rosenberg, reporter for the *Militant* just returned from South Africa. Fri., Feb. 18, 7 p.m. Reception 6 p.m. 7414 Woodward Ave. Donation: \$4. Tel: (313) 875-0100.

NORTH CAROLINA

Greensboro

South Africa: The Revolution Advances. Speakers: Students from South Africa; Marty Boyers, member of United Auto Workers Local 1597 and the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 19, 7:30 p.m. 2000-C S. Elm-Eugene St., Donation: \$3. Tel: (910) 272-5996.

TEXAS

Houston

Malcolm X: The Final Years. The Evolution of a Revolutionary. Speaker: Jeaniel Clement, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Feb. 26, 7:30 p.m. 6969 Gulf Freeway #250. Donation \$4. Tel: (713) 644-9066.

UTAH

Salt Lake City

Eyewitness Report. South Africa Today: The Revolution Unfolds. Speaker: Brian Pugh, Socialist Workers Party, part of a delegation of young socialists who just returned from South Africa. Attended African National Congress Youth League conference and participated in opening weeks of Nelson Mandela's election campaign. Sat., Feb. 19, 7 p.m. 147 E. 900 S. Donation: \$3. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

Pathfinder books well received at Havana meeting

Continued from Page 8

the pamphlet by Mary-Alice Waters *Che Guevara and the Fight for Socialism Today* (14 copies were sold). All together, 27 copies of the various issues of the Spanish, English, and French editions of the *New International* magazine were sold during the conference.

Participants also eagerly purchased three dozen xeroxed copies of major political articles previously published in *Perspectiva Mundial*, including 14 copies of "In Defense of Revolutionary Nicaragua: The Eroding Foundations of the Workers and Peasants Government" and "The Second Assassination of Maurice Bishop."

Eye-catching displays of the Pathfinder mural painted on the building housing the editorial offices in New York and of the defense campaign for union and political activist Mark Curtis, jailed on frame-up charges in the United States, evoked broad interest and many discussions on the class struggle in the United States.

The last morning of the conference, when books were also sold in Cuban pesos, the Pathfinder table was overwhelmed. Virtually every Spanish title and dozens more in English were gone within a couple of hours.

A picture of the table appeared in the February 9 issue of *Granma Internacional*, published in Cuba. A crew of Argentinian students filmed the table for a program on university television in their country.



Marcella Fitzgerald, a leader of the Communist League in Britain, speaking in Brooklyn, New York, at January 22 forum on struggle for self-determination in Ireland.

BRITAIN

Manchester

Their Morals and Ours. Speaker: Ann Fiander, Communist League, member of Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union. Sat., Feb. 19, 6 p.m. First Floor, 60 Shudehill. Donation: £2. Tel: 061-839 1766.

Sheffield

Eyewitness Report of Recent Trip to Ireland by *Militant* Reporters. Sat., Feb. 19, 6 p.m. 1

Gower St., Spital Hill. Donation: £2. Tel: 0742-765070.

CANADA

Montreal

Malcolm X, His Life and Ideas. Documentary video of speeches, interviews with Malcolm X. Discussion to follow. Fri., Feb. 18, 7:30 p.m. 4581 St. Denis. Donation \$4. Tel: (514) 284-7369.

CALENDAR

FLORIDA

Miami

Support the U.S.-Cuba Friendship III. End the U.S. Embargo Against Cuba. Speaker: Rev. Lucius Walker, leader of the Inter-religious Foundation for Community Organizations (IFCO) and Pastors for Peace. Wed., Feb. 16, 7:30 p.m. Jerusalem Church, 4201 N.E. 2nd Ave. Sponsored by the Miami-Cuba Friendship Committee. Donation: \$3. For more information, call (305) 221-2837.

GEORGIA

Atlanta

Dinner to Welcome Third U.S.-Cuba Friendship Caravan to Atlanta. Mon., Feb. 28, 6:30 p.m. First Existentialist Church, 470 Candler Park Drive. For further information, call Robin Singer at (404) 377-1079.

ILLINOIS

Chicago

Rally for ANC Victory! Featured speaker: Jeff Radebe, member ANC National Executive Committee and chairperson, ANC Southern Natal. Sun., Feb. 13, 6:30-9:00 p.m. First Baptist Congregational Church, 1613 W. Washington.

MARYLAND

Columbia

Rally and Dinner to Welcome U.S.-Cuba Friendship. Cuban Dinner, the Malcolm X Park Drummers, music by the Companions. Speakers from the Friendship caravan. Sat., Feb. 26, 6 to 9 p.m. Wilde Lake Interfaith Center, Twin Rivers & Trumpeter roads. For more information, call (410) 467-9388 ext. 3.

PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia

Send Off for the 3rd U.S.-Cuba Friendship Caravan. Fri., Feb. 25, 7 p.m. Germantown Friends Meeting, 47 W. Coulter St. (between Germantown and Greene, 2-3 blocks south of Chelton). Sponsored by the Cuba Support Coalition. For more information, call (215) 729-8514 or (215) 426-0364.

AUSTRALIA

Sydney

Celebrate the Publication of the New Book from Pathfinder Press: Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa. Special guest speaker: Ndumiso Ntshinga, African National Congress, Chief

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 19

2:30 p.m.—**Mary-Alice Waters** on: Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism: Report Back from a Recent Visit
7:30 p.m.—**Jack Barnes** on: World Capitalist Politics in the 90s: 'Downsizing,' 'Cultural War,' and Global Instability

SUNDAY, FEBRUARY 20

10:00 a.m.—**Tom Leonard** on: Trade Unions and the Fight Against Imperialist War: Lessons from the Maritime Union in World War II
1:30 p.m.—**Betsy Farley and Rolande Girard** on: A Class Perspective on the Fight for Women's Liberation From Baby Jessica to the Date Rape Debate and the Bobbitt Controversy
4:30 p.m.—**Eyewitness Report** from the Fight for a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa
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Cuba's Revolution Confronts a Crossroads in the Fight for Socialism. Speaker: Michel Prairie, editor of *Nouvelle Internationale*, attended the Fourth Latin American and Caribbean Conference for Solidarity, Sovereignty, Self-Determination and Life of our Peoples held in Havana at the end of January. Thurs., Feb. 17, 7 p.m. 3967 Main St. (between 23rd and 24 Ave). Donation: \$4. Tel: (604) 872-8343.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

South Africa: Support ANC's Election Campaign. Speaker: Carolyn Allen, Communist League. Report will be presented from meeting in Sydney that launched the new Pathfinder book *Nelson Mandela Speaks: Forging a Democratic, Nonracial South Africa*. Sat., Feb. 26, 7 p.m. 199 High St. Donation: \$3. Tel: (3) 365-6055.

Representative in Australia; Bob Hawke, Patron, Australians for Democracy in South Africa; Marcelino Fajardo, Consul-General of Cuba; Kevin Tory, Trade Union Committee for Aboriginal Rights; Meredith Burgmann, Labor MLC, NSW Parliament; Paul Matters, Secretary, South Coast Labor Council; Marlene Kennedy, Pathfinder Books. Thurs., Feb. 17, 7 p.m. Reception: 6 p.m. Construction, Forestry, Mining & Energy Union, 361 Kent St. Sponsored by Pathfinder Books. For more information, call 02-281 3297.

CANADA

Vancouver

End the U.S. Embargo of Cuba. International rally to support the Friendship caravan to Cuba. Help support the border crossing. Sun., Feb. 20, 12 noon. Peace Arch Park, Blaine Border Crossing. Organized in Canada by: Vancouver-Cuba Friendship, Victoria Goods for Cuba Committee, Nanaimo-Cuba Friendship. In the U.S.A.: Seattle-Cuba Friendship, Tacoma Committee in Solidarity with the People of Latin America, Olympia-Cuba Friendship, Bellingham Friends of Cuba, Portland Campaign for Peace with Cuba. For more information, call (604) 737-1299; in the U.S.A.: (206) 322-5722.

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Read it and retch — "I lost my job the day of the quake. The lady I work for in Beverly Hills took my job away because I didn't go to



Harry Ring

work on Monday. How was I supposed to go clean her house in Beverly Hills if I was out here?" — Ana Morales. The quake left her and her family living in the street.

The sane society — The feds are

doling out vouchers to some of those left homeless by the quake and who need cash to get a new place. But if you were homeless before the quake, don't bother getting in line. You don't qualify. Also, the city's Red Cross shelter director confirmed that at the particular shelter he's running, you need ID and "some proof or indication of residence" to get in.

That's what makes America great — "Recognizing an earthquake-borne business opportunity when they see one, a number of small aviation companies have rushed to offer services connecting the Antelope and Santa Clarita valleys with the San Fernando Valley and Los Angeles." — News Item.

But then they don't really count — One outfit helping to unclog L.A. commuter arteries offers a 25-minute hop over the battered freeways for \$66 round trip. Observes the chief pilot: "That probably doesn't appeal to the low-end consumer."

See, it was for their own good — The owner of the Northridge apartment building which collapsed in the quake, killing 16 people, is one of a group of landlords that had been targeted earlier in a class action suit charging discrimination against rental applicants who are Black.

Somebody's got to do it — Honda seems to be more concerned

than Rover about preserving British culture. Rover, Britain's last major carmaker, is being sold to Germany's BMW. A Tokyo spokesperson for Honda, which owns 20 percent of Rover, huffed, "We have been cooperating with Rover for 15 years with the aim of maintaining the Britishness and Roverness of the indigenous British company."

Almost as bad as the legal system — In Florida, 875 readers responded to a newspaper query about what they thought of lawyers, which wasn't much. A thumping 86 percent saw them as a plague on society, with one-quarter charging that they prey on others' miseries. Ten percent felt that the problem was one of a few bad apples, with

four percent saluting the legal profession.

Yo, Mr. Magoo! — Spectacles, a San Francisco shop, is featuring a line of Cartier eyeglass frames. Solid gold or platinum and studded with diamonds or other rocks, \$85,000.

Royal trip — Confirming that he's a regular fella, Charles, Prince of Wales, and his entourage, flew to Australia on a regular Qantas flight. He did graciously accept free first-class tickets from the Australian government, and we do hope he enjoyed the first-class food — sushi, prawns, oysters, duck, lobster, etc. And, of course, silver service, none of the economy-class plastic.

Gov't exposed Puerto Rico activist to radiation

BY RON RICHARDS

SAN JUAN, Puerto Rico — Gov. Pedro Rosselló has ordered an investigation into charges that prison authorities subjected Nationalist Party president Pedro Albizu Campos to radiation from 1950 to 1953 while he was in a Puerto Rican prison. This marks the first official investigation into the 40-year-old allegations.

Albizu Campos was the most important fighter for the independence of Puerto Rico in this century. He was arrested in 1936 and spent 10 years in prison after being convicted of trying to overthrow the government of the United States. By the time of his death in April 1965, Albizu Campos had spent 25 years in U.S. and Puerto Rican jails.

The health of Albizu Campos declined dramatically in the three years that he was imprisoned in La Princesa in Puerto Rico. Photos in a book entitled *Yo acuso* by historian Pedro Aponte Vasquez show him walking confidently into the prison in 1950. Three years later he had swollen limbs with sores. He spent his time in bed and covered his skin with cold cream and wet towels. He was frequently incoherent. He was rearrested in 1954 after a group of Nationalists led by Lolita Lebrón fired shots in the U.S. Congress building. He died of cancer in 1965. At the time of his death he was paralyzed and could not speak.

Responsibility of U.S. government

The charges that he was purposely exposed to high levels of radiation were first raised by Albizu Campos himself when he was released from La Princesa prison in 1953.

"When one receives an atomic attack all the body swells up," he wrote that year.

When one wants to read and they do not allow it, they shoot rays at the eyes. Under these conditions they have had me for three years. This crime, I repeat, is the responsibility of the government of the United States and all the nationalists have been victims. La Princesa is a center of crime.

"I was held in solitary confinement since my arrest in November 1950 until February 1951. On February 18, 1951, I was subjected to an electronic attack that left me unconscious. For the first time in my life I lost consciousness."

In 1953 a team of doctors examined Albizu Campos. His accusations of mistreatment were used as evidence that he was "a crazy fanatic."

José Trias Mange, a former secretary of justice and chief justice of the Commonwealth Supreme Court, headed up the team. He has refused to speak publicly about the case.

The charges were raised again in 1984 when Aponte testified before the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations. *Yo acuso!*, published in 1985, documents the evidence he collected. Aponte believes that Albizu Campos was subjected to radioactive sources, including early versions of lasers, which were then in the development stage.

The late Ruth Reynolds was a woman from the United States who spent time in prison for her activities in solidarity with the Nationalist Party. This is what she said in a declaration given to Aponte.

"Dr. Orlando Daumy, a Cuban radiologist, diagnosed the condition [of Albizu Campos] in November [1953] as 'burns similar to those seen in cancer patients suffering from overdoses of radiation.'"

Aponte accuses Dr. Cornelius Rhoads of being the central figure behind the brutal mistreatment of the independence fighter. Rhoads had clashed with Albizu Campos when he lived in Puerto Rico in the 1930s. After World War II Rhoads worked for the Atomic Energy Commission and was decorated by the military for his work in the development of chemical warfare.

While it has not been proven that Rhoads performed any experiments on Albizu Campos while he was in prison, there is no doubt that he was a racist, sadistic killer. A hospital employee found a letter Rhoads had written in 1931 and sent a copy of it to Albizu Campos, who then published it.

"I can get a damn fine job here and am tempted to take it," wrote Rhoads from Puerto Rico. "It would be ideal except for the Porto Ricans — they are beyond doubt the dirtiest, laziest, most degenerate and thievish race of men ever inhabiting this sphere. It makes you sick to inhabit the same island with them. They are even lower than the Italians."

"What the island needs is not public health work, but a tidal wave or something to

totally exterminate the population. It might then be livable. I have done my best to further the process of extermination by killing off 8 and transplanting cancer into several more. The latter has not resulted in any fatalities so far... The matter of consideration for the patients' welfare plays no role here — in fact, all physicians take delight in the abuse and torture of the unfortunate subjects," states Rhoads.

The investigation into the treatment of Albizu Campos comes in the wake of revelations that the U.S. government conducted secret radiation experiments on hundreds of people over several decades.

The Puerto Rican Justice Department has assigned two investigators to the case. The Corrections Administration is also carrying out an investigation.

In addition to Rosselló, who is a member of the pro-statehood New Progressive Party, leaders of the pro-status quo Popular Democratic Party have also joined the call for public disclosure of any information about Puerto Ricans who were subjected to radiation.

On January 13 the Puerto Rican Senate unanimously approved a resolution calling on the Energy Department of the United States to release such records. The sponsor of the resolution, Popular Democratic Party

Senator Eudaldo Báez-Galib, wrote to U.S. Energy Secretary Hazel O'Leary to ask for the release of this information.

Ron Richards is a member of Local 1503 of the American Federation of Government Employees in San Juan, Puerto Rico.



Albizu Campos in 1936

— 25 AND 50 YEARS AGO —

THE MILITANT
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Do GIs have the right to freely discuss the war in Vietnam? Growing numbers of GIs at Ft. Jackson, [South Carolina], think they do.

A petition circulated by antiwar GIs at Ft. Jackson and calling on the post commander to authorize and provide facilities for an open meeting to discuss the war has met an immediate favorable response.

The petition requests permission of the Ft. Jackson commanding officer to hold an open meeting on the post on Feb. 26 at which all those concerned can freely discuss the legal and moral questions relating to the war in Vietnam and to the civil rights of American citizens both within and outside the armed forces. The petition was initiated by a group calling itself GIs United Against the War in Vietnam.

The group has issued a policy statement which says in part:

"We, as GIs, are forced to suffer most of all in the Vietnam fiasco. Many of us were drafted into the Army against our will — nearly all of us are kept in its grasp against our will — all in order to carry out this illegal, immoral and unjust war. We are forced to fight and die in a war we did not create and in which we don't believe."

"This is not to mention the tens of thousands of innocent Vietnamese who are dying at our hands, many of them killed only because we can no longer tell the difference between them and our 'enemies.'"

"And while all this goes on, the Army continues to trample on our rights as well as our lives. And there's a reason for it: This is an undemocratic war — the only way it can

be fought is with an undemocratic army, where GIs cannot be allowed to think, to discuss the war and speak out against it."

Meanwhile, the brass have moved to frame up five black GIs who are active in GIs United. The charges run from disobeying an order to go to bed, to a charge of assault. In two cases charges have been indicated but not actually filed.

THE MILITANT
PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE
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February 19, 1944

In exposing schemes by which German financiers hope to cling to their power after the fall of Hitler, the New York Post has traced the interwoven threads of world capitalist intrigue.

Under a plan attributed to Hjalmar Schacht, British and American capital would take a share in the ownership of German industry, while leaving to German financiers full control of a political regime designed to crush the expected revolt of the workers.

The headquarters of this conspiracy is the Bank of International Settlements at Basle, Switzerland, founded in 1930 to fulfill loan arrangements under the Young plan. The BIS acts as a clearing house for the financial deals of international cartels.

President of BIS is Thomas H. McKittrick, American financier who on Nov. 23, 1943 was accused by a Morgenthau aide of doing business with Germany "while American soldiers are fighting German soldiers." A former president of BIS is Leon Fraser, now president of the Rockefeller First National Bank of New York which is affiliated with BIS.

The board of directors of BIS, which alone votes its policy, includes representatives from both Axis and Allied nations.



Puerto Rican independence fighter Pedro Albizu Campos shows effects in 1953 of forced exposure to radiation.

Support aid caravan to Cuba

The next few weeks offer an important opportunity to defend the Cuban revolution and build opposition to Washington's criminal trade and travel ban against the Caribbean country. The third U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment caravan can help break Cuba's isolation and expose the lie that Washington's policy of trying to starve Cuba into submission is based on concern for democracy or human rights. It can also be an important vehicle to win new fighters to the banner of the socialist revolution.

As the Friendshipment gears up in dozens of cities across the United States and Canada, defenders of the Cuban revolution have a chance to reach out to broader forces. Supporters of the aid caravan are hosting public meetings, campus discussions, video showings, and fundraising parties. Activists can appeal widely for aid, from leafleting supermarkets and street corners to talking with coworkers, students, farmers, and others about the Cuban revolution and U.S. embargo. As the caravan itself moves along, meetings at each stop and rallies at the Canada-U.S. and U.S.-Mexico border will also be important focal points.

There is a severe economic crisis in Cuba today. The medicine, food, and other supplies that the Friendshipment will bring, though they are a drop in the bucket, are certainly needed. But what will win new forces to join in the Friendshipment and other efforts is not sympathy with the "suffering" Cuban people, but admiration for their fighting spirit.

Workers and young people are attracted to the struggle

the Cuban revolution represents. For 35 years, workers and farmers in Cuba, led by the communist leadership there, have fought to build a new society based on human solidarity and internationalism, not the dog-eat-dog market system.

That's what Washington — as well as Ottawa and all other imperialist governments — hate so much about Cuba. It is a living, socialist revolution made by workers and farmers in their millions who will not give up and who demonstrate to toilers around the world that it is possible to stand up and fight. The Friendshipment won't change the imperialists' hatred for Cuba and their policy of economic embargo. But along the caravan routes, and in the events to build and support the Friendshipment, many workers and youth will learn from and be inspired by the Cuban revolution.

Thirty-two years ago, in the Second Declaration of Havana, Cuban president Fidel Castro explained the need for socialist revolution throughout the Americas. "Each year that the liberation of America is speeded up will mean the lives of millions of children saved, millions of intellects saved for culture, an infinite quantity of pain spared the people," he said.

The best help working people in the United States can give our brothers and sisters in Cuba is to march together down that same road, as equals in the fight to rid the world of capitalism and build a new society. Through building the Friendshipment, more people can be won to this course charted by socialist Cuba.

Grant visas to Cuban youth

Dozens of professors and student groups from 31 campuses in 23 cities have extended invitations to two Cuban youth, Arleen Rodríguez Derivet and Pavel Díaz Hernández, to visit the United States for a series of lectures on campuses in February and March.

However, the reaction by U.S. authorities to the visa request by the Cuban youth shows that Washington is not well disposed to respect the wishes of dozens of academics, students, and other supporters of a free exchange of ideas.

The U.S. Interests Section in Havana initially turned down the visa applications on absurd grounds. Rodríguez and Díaz supposedly didn't have "strong economic, family, or social ties, or any other strong ties that would force the applicant to return after a temporary visit to the United States."

It was indeed a "patently specious" pretext as Rep. Collin Peterson from Minnesota said in a letter to the State Department demanding the visas be granted.

The reasons for this denial were so flawed that Washington's representatives in Havana retracted and asked the Cuban youth to resubmit their applications. This initial denial, and the conduct of U.S. officials since, indicate the State Department might turn down the visa requests once again — albeit on different grounds. Rodríguez and Díaz have been told not to expect an answer until at least a week after their visit is scheduled to begin. However, the visa applications they resubmitted January 25 have not been denied up to this point.

Now is the time for supporters of the Minneapolis-based Faculty-Student Cuban Youth Lectures Committee to make an all out effort to flood the State Department with letters and phone calls demanding the visas be granted.

Initial results from the campaign the Minneapolis committee recently launched show this is possible — if sup-

porters make it a priority. Already two congressmen and several professors have sent in letters to the State Department.

Professors and student leaders who invited the Cuban youth as well as many other academics can join the effort. In addition, politicians, journalists, clergy, other prominent individuals, and all supporters of the free exchange of ideas can be won to take part in this letter-writing campaign.

Messages from academics and others demanding U.S. authorities grant the visas can be used to generate publicity in the press.

Timeliness in this emergency effort is crucial in maximizing the chances that Rodríguez and Díaz will get permission to travel to the United States.

All opponents of the U.S. trade embargo against Cuba and of Washington's travel restrictions to the island have a stake in this fight, which should be tied to efforts to build the upcoming U.S.-Cuba Friendshipment.

The fight to end travel and immigration restrictions is of great importance to working people. The exchange of ideas and experiences among youth and workers from different countries is essential to strengthening the capacity of the working class to unite and confront attacks by the employers and their government.

Washington has a long history of denying the right to travel to the United States to thousands of people whose views do not square with Uncle Sam's. The State Department will only grant visas to the Cuban youth if it feels under enough pressure.

A successful campaign that involves dozens of people in every city across the United States demanding that Rodríguez and Díaz be granted visas will go a long way in winning the right of people who live in the United States to exchange ideas with people of different points of view.

Clinton targets social services

President Bill Clinton's 1995 budget proposals, which drastically cut spending on hundreds of federally-funded programs while eliminating 115 others, is aimed at accelerating the rulers' drive to roll back social programs and benefits won by working people in earlier struggles. In the name of "budget discipline," Congress and the Clinton administration are continuing their bipartisan assault on the rights and living standard of working people. The only disagreement among some Democratic and Republican politicians is whether more programs should be cut at a quicker pace.

A look at just a few of the items being slashed shows the real priorities of the billionaire families who run the United States. In the midst of one of the coldest winters in the Midwest and Northeast, the president calls for slashing funds available to help low income workers pay exorbitant heating bills.

As homelessness soars nationwide, the administration responds by drastically reducing funds available for public housing. And government officials have the gall to motivate this move as a way to generate more funds to help the homeless!

The White House's proposal to reduce by 25 percent federal funding for already inadequate and dilapidated urban mass transit systems will inevitably mean even

higher bus and subway fares — and less service — for working people in cities throughout the country.

Clinton's proposals for health care "reform," which are not part of this budget plan, are premised on deep cuts in Medicaid and Medicare expenditures for the poor and elderly.

These belt-tightening measures are not optional for the bosses. They stem from sharp competition for markets and the capitalists' declining rate of profit, which force the employing class to try to transfer more social wealth into their own private coffers.

The huge \$264 billion expenditure on the military in this budget, and the \$1.2 trillion projected over a five-year period, are part of Washington's preparations to wage new wars to defend its economic and political interests abroad. In fact, the Clinton administration is planning to spend nearly as much on the military next year as the rest of the world combined.

The labor movement should take the lead in organizing protest actions against the social service cutbacks and spending priorities embodied in Clinton's budget. A social movement needs to be built capable of defending our rights and fighting for a desperately needed public works program to build and repair housing, schools, hospitals, and bridges at decent union wages.

Second declaration

Continued from Page 9

ically underdeveloped, without financial or military means to threaten the security or economy of any other country? What unites them and stirs them up is fear. What explains it is fear. Not fear of the Cuban revolution but fear of the Latin-American revolution. Not fear of the workers, peasants, intellectuals, students and progressive layers of the middle strata which by revolutionary means have taken power in Cuba; but fear that the workers, peasants, students, intellectuals and progressive sectors of the middle strata will by revolutionary means take power in the oppressed and hungry countries exploited by the Yankee monopolies and reactionary oligarchies of America, fear that the plundered people of the continent will seize the arms from their oppressors and, like Cuba, declare themselves free people of America.

By crushing the Cuban revolution they hope to dispel the fear that torments them, the specter of the revolution that threatens them. By liquidating the Cuban revolution, they hope to liquidate the revolutionary spirit of the people. . . .

At Punta del Este¹ a great ideological battle unfolded between the Cuban revolution and Yankee imperialism. Who did they represent there, for whom did each speak? Cuba represented the people; the United States represented the monopolies. Cuba spoke for America's exploited masses; the United States for the exploiting, oligarchal and imperialist interests; Cuba for sovereignty; the United States for intervention; Cuba for the nationalization of foreign enterprises; the United States for new investments by foreign capital. Cuba for culture; the United States for ignorance. Cuba for agrarian reform; the United States for great landed estates. Cuba for the industrialization of America; the United States for underdevelopment. Cuba for creative work; the United States for the sabotage and counter-revolutionary terror practiced by its agents — the destruction of sugar-cane fields and factories, the bombing by their pirate planes of the labor of a peaceful people. Cuba for the murdered alphabetizers; the United States for the assassins. Cuba for bread; the United States for hunger. Cuba for equality; the United States for privilege and discrimination. Cuba for the truth; the United States for lies. Cuba for liberation; the United States for oppression. Cuba for the bright future of humanity; the United States for the past without hope. Cuba for the heroes who fell at [Playa] Giron² to save the country from foreign domination; the United States for the mercenaries and traitors who serve the foreigner against their country. Cuba for peace among peoples; the United States for aggression and war. Cuba for socialism; the United States for capitalism. . . .

Duty of revolutionists

It is the duty of every revolutionist to make the revolution. It is known that the revolution will triumph in America and throughout the world, but it is not for revolutionists to sit in the doorways of their houses waiting for the corpse of imperialism to pass by. The role of Job doesn't suit a revolutionist. Each year that the liberation of America is speeded up will mean the lives of millions of children saved, millions of intellects saved for culture, an infinite quantity of pain spared the people. Even if the Yankee imperialists prepare a bloody drama for America, they will not succeed in crushing the peoples' struggles, they will only arouse universal hatred against themselves. And such a drama will also mark the death of their greedy and carnivorous system. . . .

Now in the fields and mountains of America, on its slopes and prairies and in its jungles, in the wilderness or in the traffic of cities, this world is beginning with full cause to erupt. Anxious hands are stretched forth, ready to die for what is theirs, to win those rights which were laughed at by one and all for 500 years. . . .

For this great mass of humanity has said, "enough!" and has begun to march. And their giant march will not be halted until they conquer true independence — for which they have vainly died more than once. Today, however, those who die will die like the Cubans at Playa Giron. They will die for their own, true and never-to-be-surrendered independence.

Patria o Muerte! Venceremos!

THE PEOPLE OF CUBA
Havana, Cuba
Free Territory of America
February 4, 1962

The National General Assembly of the People of Cuba resolves that this Declaration be known as the Second Declaration of Havana, translated into the major languages and distributed throughout the world. It also resolves to urge all the friends of the Cuban Revolution in Latin America that it be widely distributed among the worker, peasant, student and intellectual masses of this continent.

NOTES

1. Reference to the 1961 ministerial meeting of the Inter-American Economic and Social Council sponsored by the Organization of American States (OAS). The conference was held at Punta del Este, Uruguay. Ernesto Che Guevara headed Cuba's delegation to the meeting.

2. On April 17, 1961, 1,500 Cuban-born mercenaries invaded Cuba at the Bay of Pigs on the southern coast of the island. The action, organized by Washington, aimed to establish a "provisional government" to appeal for direct U.S. intervention. However, the invaders were defeated within 72 hours by the Cuban militia and the Revolutionary Armed Forces. On April 19, the last invaders surrendered at Playa Giron (Giron Beach), which is the name Cubans use to designate the battle.

New Zealand nurses strike over health cutbacks

This column is devoted to reporting the resistance by working people to the employers' assault on their living standards, working conditions, and unions.

We invite you to contribute short items to this column as a way for other fighting workers around the world to read about and learn from these important struggles. Jot down a few lines about what is happening in your union, at your workplace or other workplaces in your area, including interesting political discussions.

Chanting "1,2,3,4, We don't want your CHEs no more," 150 nurses and other health-care workers marched through the center of Whangarei, New Zealand, Febru-

the strike. The other union is the Public Service Association, which covers clerical workers and some professional staff.

"We have already lost 5 percent to 10 percent of our pay in the last contract," stated Osborne. "Nurses see it not simply as a question of pay, but of equity and justice. We want to get rid of the inequities that have been introduced between nurses in different regions and also between staff of similar qualifications within the hospital itself." □

Longshoremen shut British Columbia ports

Three thousand members of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union (ILWU) shut down the Port of Vancouver

ON THE PICKET LINE

ary 1. Carrying placards saying "5 percent or we strike again," and "If I wanted to be overpaid, I'd be working for management," the marchers won wide support from passers-by. Health-care workers in Kawakawa, Kaitia, Dargaville, and Rotorua, held spontaneous marches and set up picket lines. More than 1,100 health-care workers in Northland province, north of Auckland, and 300 in the Rotorua region began a four-day strike over their employment contracts.

Since 1990 the New Zealand government has pursued a course of dismantling the system of free public hospitals, and replacing it with profit-driven Crown Health Enterprises (CHEs). The national awards (contracts) for nurses were broken up, and nurses in each region now negotiate their contracts separately. A bill requiring patients to pay for hospital stays was introduced, only to be dropped later, after massive public opposition and widespread refusal to pay.

"Nurses don't take this kind of action lightly," Kaye Osborne said. Osborne is an intensive care nurse and the chairperson of the New Zealand Nurses Organisation in Northland, one of two unions participating in

and almost every terminal on the Canadian Pacific coast January 28. The strike action was called in response to a lockout planned by the British Columbia Maritime Employers Association for the following day. The bosses' move was to counter a strike by members of ILWU Local 508 on Vancouver Island that began January 27. The workers organized this action to protest lack of progress in negotiations over the past 16 months. British Columbia longshoremen have been without a contract since January 1993. □

Machinists at United approve concessions

Members of the International Association of Machinists (IAM) employed at United Airlines voted January 26 to approve a deep concession contract, which was put forward as an Employee Stock Ownership Plan (ESOP). With only two-thirds of the 2,600 IAM members at United Airlines voting, the contract was approved by a 56 percent margin.

United management had threatened to contract out aircraft maintenance and other work, eliminating



Teamsters union members in the Northeast and some other locations struck United Parcel Service (UPS) February 8 in defiance of court order. Union opposed UPS's plan to raise weight limit from 70 pounds to 150. After the company agreed that no teamster will lift more than 70 pounds without help from another employee, not to penalize strikers, and not sue union locals for damages, the workers ended the walkout.

thousands of jobs if the plan was not accepted.

The six-year contract will cut the base pay of IAM members by 9.7 percent, cancel a 5 percent raise scheduled for May, and eliminate a paid lunch, lengthening the workday by half an hour. A no strike pledge is part of the agreement. Severance benefits for kitchen workers, whose jobs have been eliminated, are also included, as well as an increase in retirement benefits in 1998.

The National Executive Council of the Air Line Pilots Association (ALPA) voted January 27 to endorse the package. The company's stockholders will vote on the proposal in May. □

Lockout ends as workers lose jobs at Ohio plant

The 487-day lockout of United Steelworkers of America (USWA)

Local 6529 members at Taylor-Winfield Corp. in Warren, Ohio, ended in early January when the union district office ended strike benefits and effectively disbanded the local.

"We had come to accept that we were not getting back in there," said Darlene Lazaro, chairperson of the local's grievance committee and member of the negotiating team.

Production previously done by 116 union members at the plant has been moved by company owner John Anderson to a factory in Youngstown.

"We could never figure out why Anderson would open a new plant and give employees there health benefits he refused to give to workers at the old plant," said Lazaro. "Then one day we were talking and realized there are about 35 workers we know of who have died or are sick from

cancer, liver damage, or pulmonary problems.

"These are illnesses which can take 20 years to show up. His idea was to eliminate his liability," said Lazaro. "We worked with transformer oil, with PCBs, with trichlorethylene, and with mercury and silver in the plating room. We used to cut asbestos with the band saw."

Lazaro said former members of the local are discussing organizing themselves into a community group to continue their fight. □

The following people contributed to this week's column: James Robb, member of New Zealand Meat Workers Union in Auckland; Ned Dmytryshyn, member of Teamsters Local 213 in Vancouver, Canada; Kathleen Denny, member of IAM Local 1781 in Oakland, California; and Don Mackle, member of USWA Local 6037 in Cleveland.

LETTERS

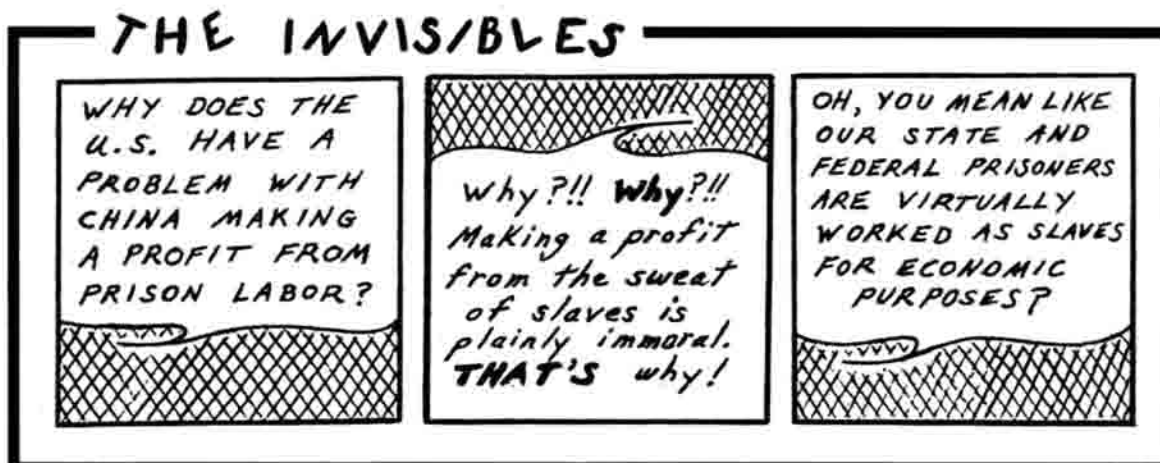
Prison slave labor

Thank you for sending me a sample copy of the *Militant*. I enjoyed reading your paper and will pass it around among friends along with the letter and subscription information.

As a previously exploited non-union worker and now as an imprisoned slave of 10 years, having read your paper for the first time, I see an obvious parallel between oppressed workers everywhere and the fascist oppression of imprisoned slaves. All of us are being used by the monied elite for their gain at our expense. While employers pay their employees as little as possible with as few benefits as possible in the least acceptable environment, prisoners are used as slaves without pay or at next-to-nothing wages as a source of cheap labor under extremely fascist conditions.

Those who benefit from the state-sponsored slavery — politicians who dupe the uninformed public into buying their "tough on crime" agendas of inordinately long sentences and lack of rehabilitating programs, and the powerful lobbies of the prison administrators and guards who support prison construction because it means more jobs and more job promotions to the detriment of the taxpayers — are really no different from employers who exploit their workers.

It is in free workers' interests to support the cause of imprisoned slaves who seek decent and safe conditions and a fair wage for their toil.



The cartoon, "the ol' double standard," was submitted by the prisoner whose letter appears on this page.

An oft quoted truism of Dostoyevsky is "(t)he degree of civilization in a society can be judged by entering its prisons." Enter a prison, look at parole statistics, the rise in prison construction and related costs, and wonder why prisons as they now exist, if a viable solution to crime, only have gained an increase in crime. You can hate criminals if you so choose, but that attitude is what has fueled the system to date which paroles prisoners most of whom are worse than when first enslaved.

A prisoner
Repres, California

Tonya Harding

While the lead editorial in the *Militant* of January 31 accurately characterizes the venality, corruption, and nastiness that permeates

sports in capitalist society, it leaves on ice a major issue in all the hoopla — that elemental democratic right which is crucial to working people — the right to be judged innocent till proven guilty.

As of this writing, Tonya Harding has not been charged with a crime, much less convicted. Even a conviction does not prove guilt in a court system where justice is honored more in its breach than in its observance. The case of Mark Curtis is a prime example.

A hue and cry has gone up demanding that Harding not be allowed to skate in the Olympics. Why? Because she has been tried in the media and a judgment rendered. She must be guilty, the argument goes, because of her association, her insensitivity, her toughness. Anyhow we don't want someone with her background and charac-

teristics representing the U.S.A.

Harding has come under attack because of her "looks," her "build," her "attitude" and other "unfeminine" characteristics. In addition to the sexist brickbats thrown her way, her family background is ridiculed because her mother was a waitress who was married five times and her father was often unemployed. These anti-working-class sentiments, reeking of right-wing family values hype, should be rejected.

As for Harding's concern for "dollar signs," is this any different than for any other professional or so-called amateur athlete? Isn't this the goal athletes aspire to? It's the American way. Harding is just more honest about it.

I don't understand what is meant by the "politics of resentment" that "Harding and her supporters promote." I do know that the politics

of sports in capitalist America is the politics of profit, greed, and brutality, which permeates all aspects of society under capitalism. And Harding remains innocent till proven guilty.

Gary Cohen
Arlington, Massachusetts

A must see movie

For all readers who wonder how far a government would go to frame up people, I suggest seeing the new movie "In The Name of the Father." The movie is based on the events around the frame-up of the "Guildford Four," framed up in Britain and falsely accused of a bombing and being IRA members. The movie recounts the torture and beatings incurred while being questioned by British police. The movie also shows how far the cops would go to frame people up, up to and including Conlon's father, aunt, and cousins on conspiracy charges. For anyone who would question how far a government will go to frame up people like Mark Curtis and Leonard Peltier, this is a must see movie.

Dennis Chambers
Chicago, Illinois

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Iceland unionist wins reinstatement

BY SIGURLAUG GUNNLAUGSDÓTTIR

REYKJAVIK, Iceland — Workers at the Stálsmíðjan shipyard scored a victory January 14 in their year-long fight against company demands for concessions.

The unskilled workers who are members of the union Dagsbrún (Dawn) refused to sign a new contract unless Gylfi Pall Hersir, a union member fired in September for his role in the fight, was rehired. On January 13 the union threatened to strike if Hersir was not rehired. Dagsbrún represents 5,000 unskilled workers in Iceland. The strike was to effect more than the 12 members at the Stálsmíðjan shipyard. Dock workers were being called out as well.

Facing a strike and the refusal of workers to sign the new contract, the company backed off and rehired Hersir the next day.

The new contract, which took effect February 1, covers all 100 workers at the shipyard, skilled and unskilled. The unskilled workers in particular gained ground. In past agreements the unskilled workers were guaranteed five hours of overtime each week to compensate for lower wages. In this contract the overtime guarantee was dropped in favor of a 4 percent wage increase. In addition, the unskilled workers will move from their separate lunch facilities and join the skilled workers in the cafeteria. Food compensation was cut, but the bosses signed an agreement to provide free food on weekends.

Iceland's fishing industry has been hit hard by the world economic crisis. Fish products are 80 percent of the country's exports. This aggravates the crisis for the shipyard industry — shipbuilding, repairs, and maintenance. Competition is fierce between different shipyards in the country and between the industry in Iceland and shipyards in other countries, including Norway and Poland. The bosses are trying to place the burden of their problems on the workers.

In late 1992, the owners of the Stálsmíðjan shipyard here announced that after Jan. 1, 1993 they would not pay the unskilled workers the five hours of overtime guaranteed each week in their contract. The workers responded by demanding higher wages to compensate. When this was denied, the workers refused to work any overtime.

One Saturday, in late January 1993, the company ordered the foremen to run a ship down into the water. This is a job the unskilled workers normally do. Most of these workers came into the shipyard and prevented the foremen from doing their work.

The union filed a charge in labor court demanding that the company stick to the contract. At the same time the company filed a charge insisting that the workers' action be declared illegal and that the union be fined.

It is rare for the labor court to rule in the union's favor. But in March last year the court ruled that the company had broken the contract. This victory earned the shipyard workers respect. Their fight became well known in Iceland.

In September, the company's case was heard in court. Two days after the hearing, union activist Gylfi Pall Hersir was fired. While the company claimed that this had to do with downsizing, many workers thought Hersir was fired because of his role in their fight.

Two weeks later, the labor court ruled that the action the workers undertook to defend themselves against the company breaking the contract was illegal and the union was fined.

All the unskilled workers signed a letter demanding that the union activist be rehired, explaining that he was fired due to their ongoing labor struggle. The Dagsbrún union board decided to back this demand and to take Hersir's case to court. In October, the national conference of the Federation of Unskilled Workers Union in Iceland passed

a resolution demanding that Hersir be rehired.

The charges filed by Dagsbrún against the company received wide publicity. This was only the second time since 1938 that the court had heard a charge against a boss for a political firing. The Stálsmíðjan shipyard workers' fight was being followed closely by other workers. On New Year's Day Hersir was interviewed about the firing and the labor fight in the shipyard as part of a 45-minute program on national television about the domestic news highlights of 1993.

On the day of his hearing in labor court, the company and union reached an agreement. The union activist would work until

December 31 instead of November 30. If there was enough work at the end of the year as determined by the owner, foreman, and union steward together the firing would be withdrawn. If not, Hersir would be the first to be rehired when work picked up.

The owner called the union steward and foreman December 31 to tell them that he had decided, without their consultation, that there was no basis for Hersir to continue working. This is in spite of the fact that there was plenty of work in the shipyard.

During this same period, in October, the company demanded that the workers take a 12.5 percent wage cut starting February 1.

The company said that those who did not agree would have to find another job.

All of the shipyard workers, who are organized by several different unions, as well as their union leaderships protested. They refused to take a pay cut and would not accept the bosses' threat to replace them. The workers also demanded that Hersir be rehired.

The foremen singled out individual workers asking them if this was really their opinion. Did they want the shipyard to close down? The workers stood firm.

On January 13, when the unskilled workers' union called for a strike over Hersir's firing, the shipyard owners backed down.

London rail workers protest company victimizations through drug testing

BY ROBERT HIGLEY AND HELEN WARNOCK

LONDON — Thirty people attended a Militant Labor forum here January 22 to discuss the way rail bosses use their drug and alcohol policy to go after workers' rights.

Speakers included Tony O'Mara, a local union representative from the National Union of Rail, Maritime and Transport Workers (RMT) and Helen Warnock, a member of the RMT and Communist League.

The drug and alcohol policy now in force on British Rail allows the company to fire anyone found to have more than 30 milligrams of alcohol per 100 millilitres in their blood. The legal limit for automobile drivers is 80 milligrams.

Workers are tested upon hiring in, transferring jobs, and getting promotions. They are told not to consume alcohol within eight hours of starting work, and not to be seen wearing a British Rail uniform in places licensed to serve alcohol. Any worker they deem as acting suspiciously, or who has a record of bad time-keeping may be tested. If a worker tests positive, they will be dismissed.

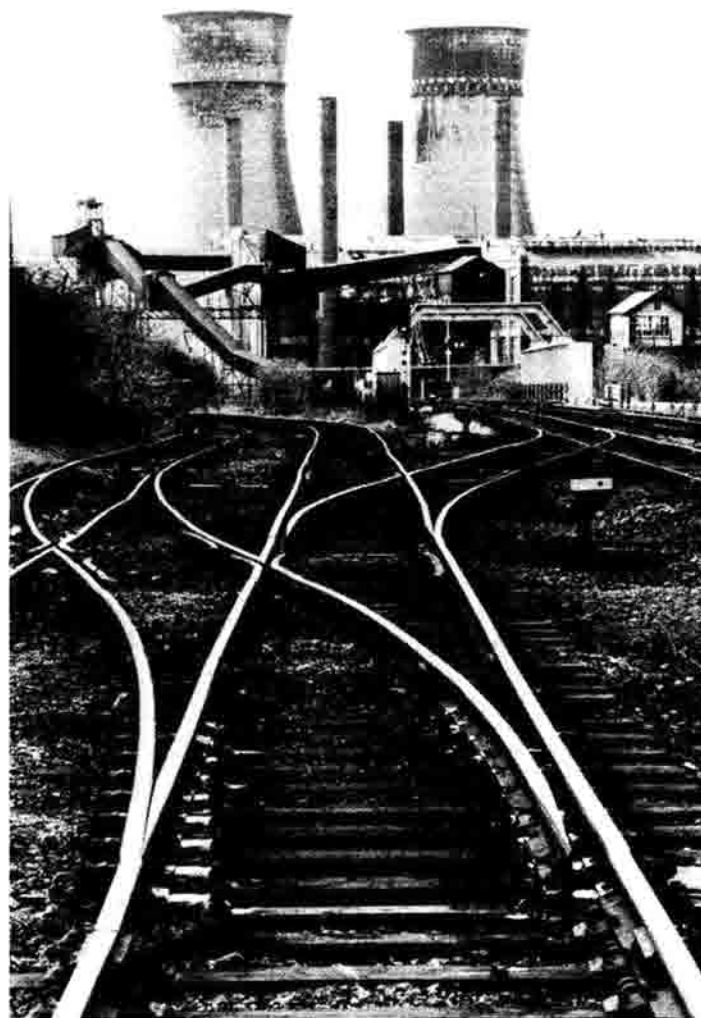
The law allows British Rail to fire a worker if their boss suspects them of drinking, even if there is no evidence. It also allows random testing of workers.

O'Mara reported that a co-worker had been randomly tested in early December. He heard nothing further until early January when he was called in to see the supervisor. The rail worker was told he had failed the test and was escorted off the premises. On January 7 he was dismissed.

Most workers were shocked and angry about what had happened. He had 26 years experience and no record of unsafe working practices. A special lunchtime union meeting was held that same week to discuss and protest this attack. The union registered its opposition to random drug testing.

The fired rail worker "was considered to be one of the safest workers," O'Mara told the forum. He had been offered early retirement as part of British Rail's policy of reducing the workforce in preparation for the privatization of the state rail system. He is no longer eligible for the retirement deal, and is appealing his dismissal.

"No longer can we sit back and take this kind of attack," O'Mara said. "A union is only as strong as its members. If we had been consulted, everybody would have seen how



G. M. Cookson

Rail yard in Sheffield, England. New policy allows British Rail to fire workers supervisors suspect of drinking, even if there is no evidence. Limit of alcohol allowed in blood of rail workers is set at less than half the legal limit for automobile drivers.

much we are against this random testing."

Martin Marriott, a member of Wimbledon RMT branch and the Communist League, stressed that this policy had nothing whatsoever to do with safety, and had everything to do with the bosses' drive to try to rule by fear in their attempt to maintain profits in an economic crisis. Most rail workers experience this as British Rail drives toward privatization. Workers are forced to work long hours, on difficult shifts, while the company barely invests in up to date warning devices. The average rail worker puts in 50 hours a week.

One example of the bosses disregard for safety is the death of Thomas McCole, who was struck by a train traveling 70 miles per hour. McCole usually worked in the drawing office, and was only on track duties because of maintenance staff shortages. He was working near noisy machinery while it was dark and raining. There was no lookout person, and no emergency speed restriction boards to slow the train to 20 miles per hour. British Rail's lawyers admitted that a series of failures in the company's safety system

had led to McCole's death. In the same breath, however, the attorneys tried to shift the blame from management to the workers, saying that rail workers had a "casual attitude to safety," and described this as "a kind of virus in the railway culture."

Their drug and alcohol policy is part of British Rail's effort to shift the blame for the increase in accidents onto workers. The bosses try to make workers pay for the crisis they face, and break down solidarity between workers. "Under the present policy the burden for health and safety at work has been placed on the backs of the workers," Warnock said. "The responsibility is on us to report to management if we're taking medicines or have an alcohol or drug problem. We are supposed to put ourselves forward for rehabilitation programs run by the company. These programs are nothing more than an excuse for the bosses to pry into our personal lives. They tie us closer to the company, and by taking away our democratic rights they reduce our ability to defend ourselves as a union." Warnock urged those present to reject the bosses' drug and alcohol policy.

Shorter workweek

Instead, she said, working people should fight for a shorter working week, without loss of pay. This would be one way to make the job safer. It would also mean that workers would be sharing available work, providing employment for those without jobs. "This would help to break down one of the biggest divisions in the working class — that between employed and unemployed," Warnock said.

Warnock also argued that any drug and alcohol rehabilitation program be run by the union and not by the company. Workers should have access to the best treatment since they are the ones who face the greatest safety risks. Those in such a union run program should be paid full wage while receiving treatment, and returned to their original job as soon as possible with no reprisals from the company. This needs to be part of a wider demand for improved national health care with more hospitals opened, since it is precisely in times of depression that workers need access to good health care most.

Taking these demands up, Warnock concluded, will serve to unite and strengthen the working class.

Robert Higley and Helen Warnock are members of the RMT in London.